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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the reports of the working committees of the 1976 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. The introduction traces the patterns of immigration in North America from the colonial period to the twentieth century. Sections entitled Origins, Cultural Pluralism, and Contributions deal with the settlement patterns of the French-, Spanish-, and German-speaking; the struggle between the forces of assimilation and the desire for ethnic preservation; and the cultural contributions of these groups. A special section discusses the impact of classical culture in American culture and education. "Horizons" discusses directions for the future in multi-lingual and multi-cultural education. Finally, suggestions for classroom implementation provide a means of incorporating community ethnicity, popular culture, social studies, the press, cultural field trips, and ethnic literature in the classroom. Two papers read at the 1975 conference are included: "Retrospect and Prospect," by N. Brooks, and "Changing Goals for Foreign Language Education," by T. T. Grenda. The Conference Award Article for 1975 is "The Imaginative Use of Projected Visuals," by T. P. Carter. Contents of the Conference Reports from 1954-1975 are appended, as well as a list of Conference Officers and Directors for 1954-1976. (AM)

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About the Northeast Conference

It began in 1954 as an outgrowth of the Yale-Barnard Conference on the Teaching of French. During its twenty-three years the focus of the annual Conference has been on effective learning of languages, all those commonly taught in this country, ancient and modern, including English as a second language. In preparation for each annual Conference, Working Committees meet at intervals during the year, writing successive drafts of Reports published as *Reports of the Working Committees*, which serve as the basis for the Conference discussions. In order that the discussions may be judiciously based on the *Reports*, they are mailed to Conference preregistrants a month in advance of the Conference.

In addition to the Working Committee general sessions, there are showings of teaching films, workshops, and exhibits of textbooks and other teaching aids. The Conference is sponsored by hundreds of schools, colleges, and educational associations. Representatives of those sponsoring institutions form an Advisory Council, which has a meeting at the end of each Conference.

Over the years the Conference has become the largest and most influential gathering of foreign language teachers in the country. Some three thousand teachers from some fifty states and foreign countries now attend each annual meeting. The Northeast Conference has encouraged and aided the formation of other similar regional associations: the Southern Conference in 1965 and the Central States Conference in 1968.

The Conference has three awards: the Donald D. Walsh Foreign Language Research Grant, the annual Stephen A. Freeman Award for a published article on teaching techniques, and the Award for Distinguished Service and Leadership in the Profession. The first eight recipients of this award have been Stephen A. Freeman of Middlebury College, Nelson Brooks of Yale University, Harry L. Levy of Fordham University, Robert G. Mead Jr. of the University of Connecticut, Freeman Twaddell of Brown University, Emma Birkmaier of the University of Minnesota, Donald D. Walsh of the Northeast Conference, and Theodore Andersson of the University of Texas.

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LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: HERITAGE AND HORIZONS

Reports of the Working Committees

Warren C. Born, Editor
Philip Arsenault, Chairman

1976

ADDITIONAL COPIES of the 1976 *Reports* may be purchased at $4.00 each in the Registration Area during the Conference. After the Conference copies of the 1976 *Reports* and of back *Reports* for the years 1954 through 1975 may be purchased at $4.00 each plus postage and handling from the Northeast Conference, Box 623, Middlebury, VT 05753. See pp. A-2 ff. for ordering information.

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The Northeast Conference is an affiliate of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations.

Preface

A review of the contents of the *Northeast Conference Reports* over the years discloses a lively concern with one aspect of foreign language teaching and learning: culture. "An Anthropological Concept of Culture," "Language as Culture," and "Culture in Language Learning"—a few of the titles of past Working Committee Reports—point up a variety of possible interpretations of the theme. Whatever the possibilities, foreign language teachers most often associate culture with the historical and geographic background of the speakers of a language—a chapter or course labeled 'civilization.' The contents of this volume offer for the foreign language teacher's examination another view of 'backgrounds.'

For generations the languages of many peoples who came to settle in the United States have been taught in classrooms at all levels of instruction. However, a review of where they came from and when they arrived, how they fared, what happened to their languages, and their contributions to the society of which they became a part has been generally overlooked in foreign language classrooms. At best, these topics have been treated by teachers of history, geography, sociology, and the arts. How much more meaningful to bring to the attention of our own students the heritage of American speakers of the languages which we teach. Ideally, this challenge might better be met through team efforts when foreign language teachers enlist the support of their colleagues.

It is hoped, therefore, that the contents of these *Reports* will stimulate thought and action toward this end. The "Introduction" was developed by a historical geographer. Fittingly, since the *Reports* are being published in the Bicentennial Year, it traces the patterns of immigration from the colonial period into the twentieth century. The chapters on "Origins," "Cultural Pluralism," and "Contributions" focus on ethnic groups representing the more commonly taught languages—French, German, and Spanish. A special section describes the extraordinary contributions of the Classics to our heritage, and, in "Horizons," we suggest directions for the future.

In order to extend the *Reports* into the classroom a chapter on "Suggestions for Classroom Implementation" has been developed, and workshops and demonstrations have been planned for the conference sessions.

Philip Arenault

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Introduction: A National Overview of Immigration

During this Bicentennial Year, Americans will celebrate among other things the varied ethnic composition of their national population. The amalgamation of immigrants[1] of diverse national, racial, and religious origins will be extolled in the traditional perspective of the great American melting pot. Although few Americans are unaware of the racial and, to a much lesser extent, religious divisions that mark our contemporary society, many festivities will honor the past contributions of both ethnic individuals and groups in blithe acceptance of an existing American unity.

Paradoxically, recent trends underscore the cultural plurality that still pervades our contemporary society. In addition to the differences that separate white and black Americans, the resurgence of foreign-born immigration and revival of ethnic awareness in the 1960's have destroyed the midcentury pretensions of an emerging American amalgamation.

1. Migrate, emigrate, and immigrate refer to changing one's residence from one area to another. *Emigrate* refers to leaving one's country in order to take up residence permanently in another; *immigrate* means to enter and settle in a country not one's own; *migrate* may apply to a move (often temporarily or periodically) within a country. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 908.

TABLE 1

Immigration to the United States by Origin

Area of Origin by Percent

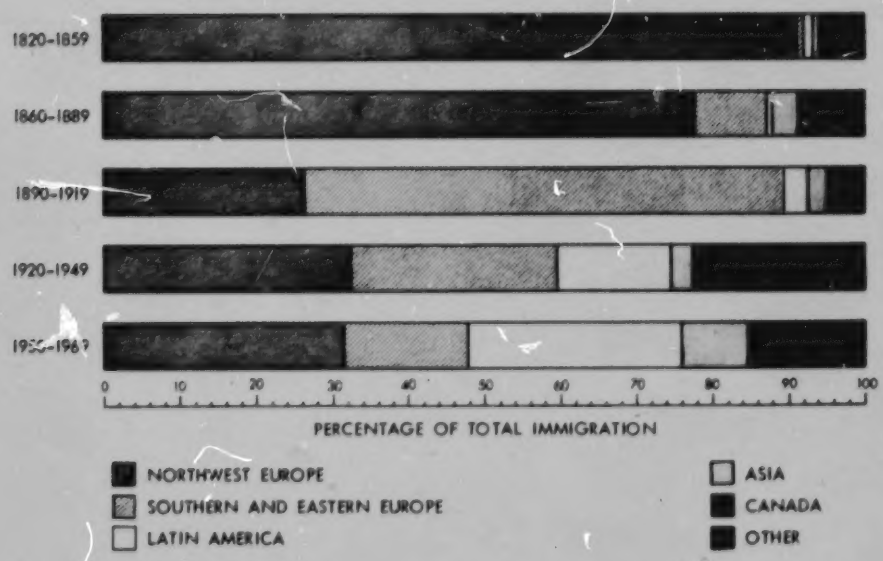
Period Years	*Great Britain*	*Ireland*	*Germany*	*Scandinavia*	*Other NW Europe*[1]	*Italy*	*Spain Portugal Greece*
1820–1859	*15.6*	*38.9*	*30.4*	0.8	5.5	0.3	0.4
1860–1889	*19.1*	*15.1*	*29.0*	*10.0*	3.9	3.2	0.5
1890–1919	6.4	5.1	6.0	6.1	2.5	*20.6*	3.6
1920–1949	8.9	4.5	*10.7*	4.1	4.2	11.4	3.5
1950–1969	9.3	1.8	*14.1*	1.7	4.8	7.0	4.7

Eastern Europe	*USSR*	*Canada*[2]	*Latin*[3] *America*	*Asian*	*Other*	*Total Number*
0.1	0.0	2.3	1.3	0.7	0.8	4,939,000
4.3	2.2	*7.3*	0.7	2.5	0.5	10,072,000
22.3	*16.8*	4.6	3.0	2.7	0.5	18,253,000
10.6	1.8	*21.2*	*14.9*	2.7	0.8	5,852,000
4.4	0.1	*14.3*	*27.9*	8.8	1.4	5,512,000

1. Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland.
2. English- and French-Speaking.
3. Not including persons born in Puerto Rico because, as residents of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, they are not immigrants to the U.S. but citizens of the U.S.

TABLE 2

Immigration to the United States by Origin



Moreover, a sensitive observer of the nation's many regions can discern variations in landscape, language, and behavior that remain from the heritage of settlement. Indeed, the regionalization or geography, i.e., time and space dimensions, of the immigration to and settlement of North America resulted in a mosaic of peoples and life styles that persists in varying strengths today. Thus, while Americans celebrate the two hundredth birthday of their nation, which was formed through the union of diverse colonial settlers, they must be cognizant of the continued cultural plurality that provides the varied textures and contours of the landscape and society.

Regionalization of American Immigrant Settlement

After years of homogenizing enculturation from television and mass-marketed products, American families who set out to explore their country in the spirit of 1976 may be surprised to encounter subtle but no less real differences in our regional landscapes and societies if they forsake interstate highways for the older road network. While televised situation comedies have recently dramatized minority groups, popular recognition is rarely given to the older groups which settled the continent. However, travels to northern New England, the Appalachian coalfields, midwestern northlands, or the Rio Grande Valley point out the enduring variety of churches, rural architecture, dialects, and even diets. To be sure, some regional features reflect only differences in physical environment and the local availability of building materials and foods. But, to a greater extent, they represent the diverse origins of the peoples who settled North America and the resulting patterns of settlement as they spread across the land and established viable communities. Although the early preponderance of English peoples and institutions set the model for the American experiment, the territorial concentration of non-English groups in rural areas as well as cities has established distinctive regional and local variations.

IMMIGRATION AND THE COLONIES

One historian of American immigration has written that "the influences which originally made it possible to distinguish between the New England, middle, and southern colonies were those of terrain, climate, and natural resources. But as time passed, ethnic factors tended to accentuate sectional distinctiveness."[2] The early exploration and settlement of North America involved a number of northwest European countries. With the exception of the Dutch in the Hudson Valley

2. Maldwyn A. Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 34.

and Swedes in the Delaware Valley, English settlers soon predominated over most areas which were settled during the seventeenth century and later became part of the United States. These early English settlements contrasted significantly in economic, religious, and social characteristics, particularly between Puritan New England and Anglican Chesapeake country, but these intra-national variations will not be considered in this overview of immigrant regionalization.

In the second half of the century and into the eighteenth century, other national groups began to complicate the settlement geography of North America. Leaving their homelands for many different reasons, such as agricultural depression, religious persecution, involuntary removal, and anticipated economic opportunity, a variety of small groups, including Scots, French Huguenots, Welsh, Irish, and Mediterranean Jews, settled in the seaports and rural localities of the middle and southern colonies. The concomitant immigration of two other groups, the Scotch-Irish (from Ulster) and Palatinate Germans, developed into major migrant streams by the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Originally coming to New England, the Scotch-Irish eventually sought out the interior lands of Pennsylvania, settling the valleys of the Appalachians and spreading southward into the Shenandoah Valley and the western hill country of the Carolinas. Similarly, after initially having been enticed into the Hudson Valley, most German settlers also moved into southeastern Pennsylvania and the hills and valleys of the Appalachian front ranges in western Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In these areas, the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants often constituted a majority of the inhabitants.

Although the major colonial seaports contained a diversity of peoples, the rural countryside was more frequently patterned by a mosaic of ethnic settlements. Under the conditions of intermingling during migration, adopting English (colonial) political institutions, and establishing a commercial, agricultural, or entrepreneurial enterprise, many immigrants began their cultural adjustment to the New World, particularly in the crossroads of the commercial urban centers. Nevertheless, the relative geographical isolation of many rural settlements and low level of internal communication within the colonies combined with the migrants' perceptions of movement to a new land rather than an established American nation to encourage the endurance of traditional cultural traits long enough to stamp areas of ethnic concentration with distinctive settlement characteristics. In some cases, large regions took on these distinctive qualities, while in others, such as the middle colonies, variations existed at local levels.

At the time of the Revolution, the relative English homogeneity of Puritan New England contrasted with not only the French settlements of the St. Lawrence Valley and the Acadian maritimes to the north and east, but also the other English colonies to the south. The variety of English, Dutch, German, Scotch-Irish, and Welsh settlements from the Hudson to the Susquehanna and Cumberland Valleys in the middle colonies was approximated only in the back country hills and valleys of the South.

These western counties of the southern colonies, however, were in marked contrast to the English Anglican and black complex of the southern tidewater areas that stretched from the Maryland Chesapeake to the South Carolinian and Geor-

gian coastal lowlands. In addition, there were also Spanish and French settlements in the non-English colonies of Florida and Louisiana, the latter including black French-speaking Haitians in New Orleans (some of whom were also found in Georgia). Thus, the American colonies at the threshold of nationhood and after a century and a half of settlement existed as three or four loosely organized, major cultural regions with different environmental, economic, and social characteristics, within which there was a variety of localized ethnic clusters.

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF NATIONHOOD

The American Revolution, European internal embroilments, and growing regulation of shipping and migration all greatly diminished the flow of immigrants to the new United States until 1815. British, Scotch-Irish, and German immigrants continued to be predominant among those who did come. However, without sufficient replenishment to the older ethnic groups, this thirty-year period is frequently considered to be one of assimilation toward an emerging American nationality.[3]

Annual statistics of the origin and volume of immigrants are available from 1820 to the present. These records reveal the increasing rate of immigration throughout the nineteenth century, reaching a decennial peak of 5.2 million during the 1880's. In view of the fact that the nation's population registered a net increase of 53.3 million between 1820 and 1890, the arrival of 14.7 million immigrants during the same period (not including their children born in the U.S.) indicated the cultural plurality of the age. Although the traditional northwest European countries continued to provide the majority of immigrants, significant new groups appeared. The Catholic Irish constituted the largest group of immigrants in the decades prior to the Civil War, while after that conflict large numbers of Scandinavians and Canadians (especially French) joined the continued influx of British, German, and Irish immigrants.

This mass immigration took place during the westward settlement of the continent and the slightly later rise of urban industrialism. As in the preceding colonial period, distinctive regional concentrations of immigrants developed which in some instances extended established patterns but in others created important new ones that have made a lasting imprint upon the country's settlement geography.

A geographer has written that "Before about 1850, destinations of emigrants from Europe depended less upon locational preferences than on the routes and organization of transatlantic commodity commerce."[4] Returning as ballast on Atlantic cargo ships, the immigrants' ports of entry reflected the destinations of American export products. Irish tended to enter New England and Canadian maritime ports in conjunction with the lumber trade, while Germans disembarked at middle Atlantic ports and New Orleans as a result of the tobacco, grain, and

3. Jones, p. 75.
4. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 63.

FIGURE 1
THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS: 1790-1890
SETTLEMENT AREAS FOR MAJOR IMMIGRANT GROUPS

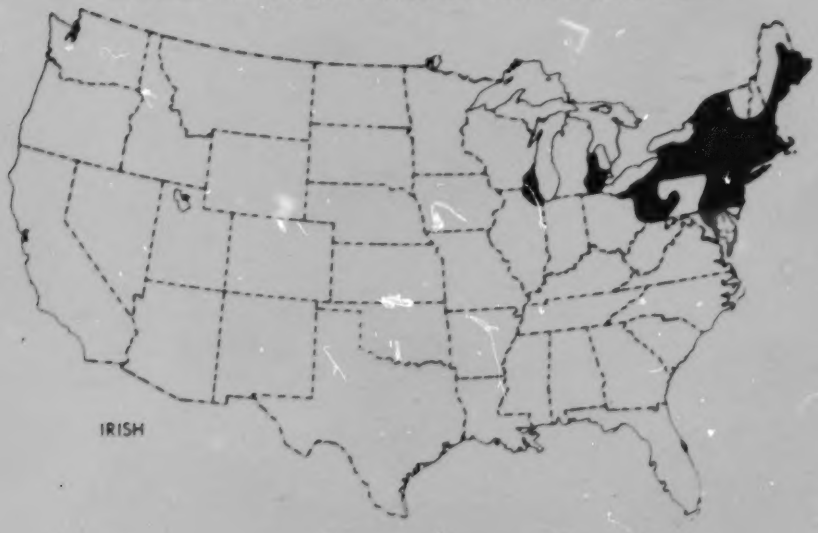
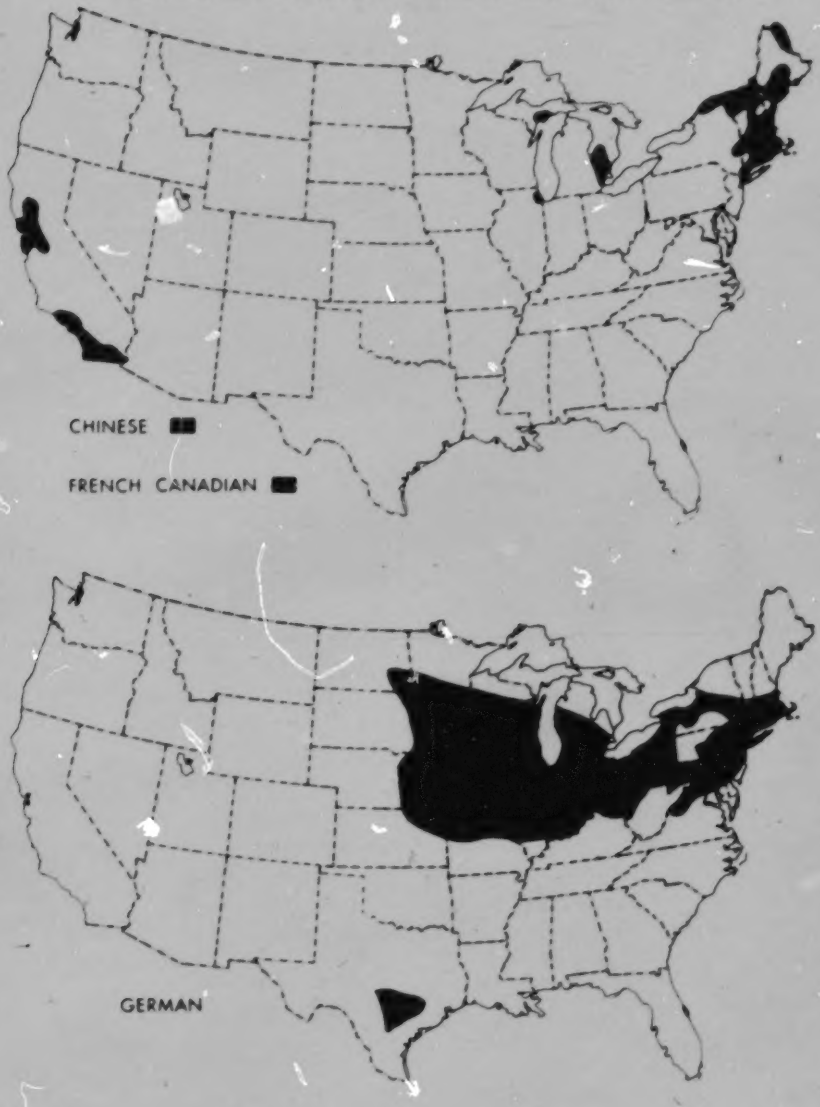


FIGURE 1

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS: 1790–1890

SETTLEMENT AREAS FOR MAJOR IMMIGRANT GROUPS



cotton links with cities such as Le Havre and Bremen. After this initial sorting process, the distribution of immigrant settlers within the continent depended upon their ability to afford further transportation, the limited transportation connections between the Atlantic seaports and the interior, the location of the settlement frontier at the time of arrival, and their occupational skills.

Prior to about 1850, impoverished Irish Catholic immigrants remained in the Northeast, a large percentage of whom settled in cities in response to the demand for unskilled laborers. The tendency to hire Irish laborers for the massive canal and railroad construction projects of the newly settling interior lands initiated the spread of this group to western New York and the growing Great Lakes cities. In contrast, many British and German farmers with the necessary inclination and capital moved directly to the agricultural lands of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys after their arrival in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans. At the same time, British and German artisans, entrepreneurs, and professionals found plentiful opportunities in the middle Atlantic and interior urban emporiums.

The acceleration of German immigration after 1850 contributed greatly to the composition of the northwardly and westwardly moving frontier. Although the native Indians and the simultaneous influx of British, English-Canadian, and older American settlers created a pluralistic frontier population, both rural and urban areas of the Great Lakes and prairie states had a distinctly Teutonic flavor (frequently malty), matched only in the older German enclaves of Pennsylvania and the middle Atlantic seaports. Germans constituted a third of Milwaukee's population in 1860 and smaller, though still large, proportions of the inhabitants of such cities as Chicago, St. Paul, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. In rural areas, German majorities existed at local levels.[5] However, on this small scale, other groups also created distinctive enclaves of settlement, some of which remain evident today, e.g., the American Indian in various locations or the Dutch in central Michigan.[6]

After the Civil War, the developing transcontinental railroads began to influence the destination of immigrants through selective recruitment in Europe and colonization along their routes and on their land grants. While these efforts resulted in pockets of German and Slavic groups throughout the Plains states, the greatest concentration occurred with the settlement of Scandinavian, in the upper Midwest from Wisconsin to the Dakotas.[7] Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns moved to the lumbering operations, prairie farms, and new towns of this vast rugged country, seemingly attracted by the similarity with their homeland environment and activities.

5. Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (1961), 1-41.

6. Elaine M. Bjorklund, "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 54 (1964), 227-41. While English immigrants to the Midwest frequently constituted large proportions of local populations, their relatively rapid assimilation with American inhabitants led to their designation as invisible immigrants. See Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972).

7. Jones, p. 189.

Two other groups deserve recognition in this period. With the overpopulation of Quebec farmlands and the lack of a substantial Canadian agricultural frontier, French Canadians moved to selected areas of the American Midwest and the bordering lands of northern New England. The burgeoning demand for labor in New England's textile mills greatly accelerated the movement of French Canadians, and soon sizable French-speaking communities had developed in many milling centers.[8]

While the French and Irish Catholic populations were clearly exotic to the formerly homogeneous New England region, perhaps no group was more exotic in North America than the Chinese who originally came to the gold fields of California. Eventually more than 40,000 Chinese migrated to the west coast during the 1850's. Chinese neighborhoods arose in San Francisco, Stockton, and Sacramento. Working as laborers on the construction of railroads or providing services for the many mining towns, Chinese spread eastward from their California nucleus and made a distinctive contribution to the urban areas of the far West.

Thus, after the initial hundred years of nationhood, the complex geography of settlement and immigration had resulted in the varied composition of both regional and local populations. With few notable exceptions, the South had been ignored by European immigrants and developed from its colonial cultural hearth the unique quality of native white and black populations.[9] Territorial expansion had, however, created important subcultural pockets of French in Louisiana and Spanish in southwest Texas. In contrast, colonial New England had become the home of French and Irish Catholics, particularly in its cities.

Similarly, the middle Atlantic cities, particularly New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, attracted large Irish and German populations, and although these immigrants were often residentially integrated, a few ethnic neighborhoods had emerged to begin the development of socially-patterned space within our cities. The frontier situation encouraged the integration and assimilation of the diverse settlers in the Midwest, but broad distributions of German and Scandinavian groups set apart the central and upper Midwest respectively, while local concentrations of these two groups and a variety of others created a fascinating patchwork of rural landscapes. The high proportions of immigrants in the inland cities resulted in even more distinctly developed ethnic neighborhoods than in the older eastern seaports.

THE 'NEW' IMMIGRANTS: 1890-1920

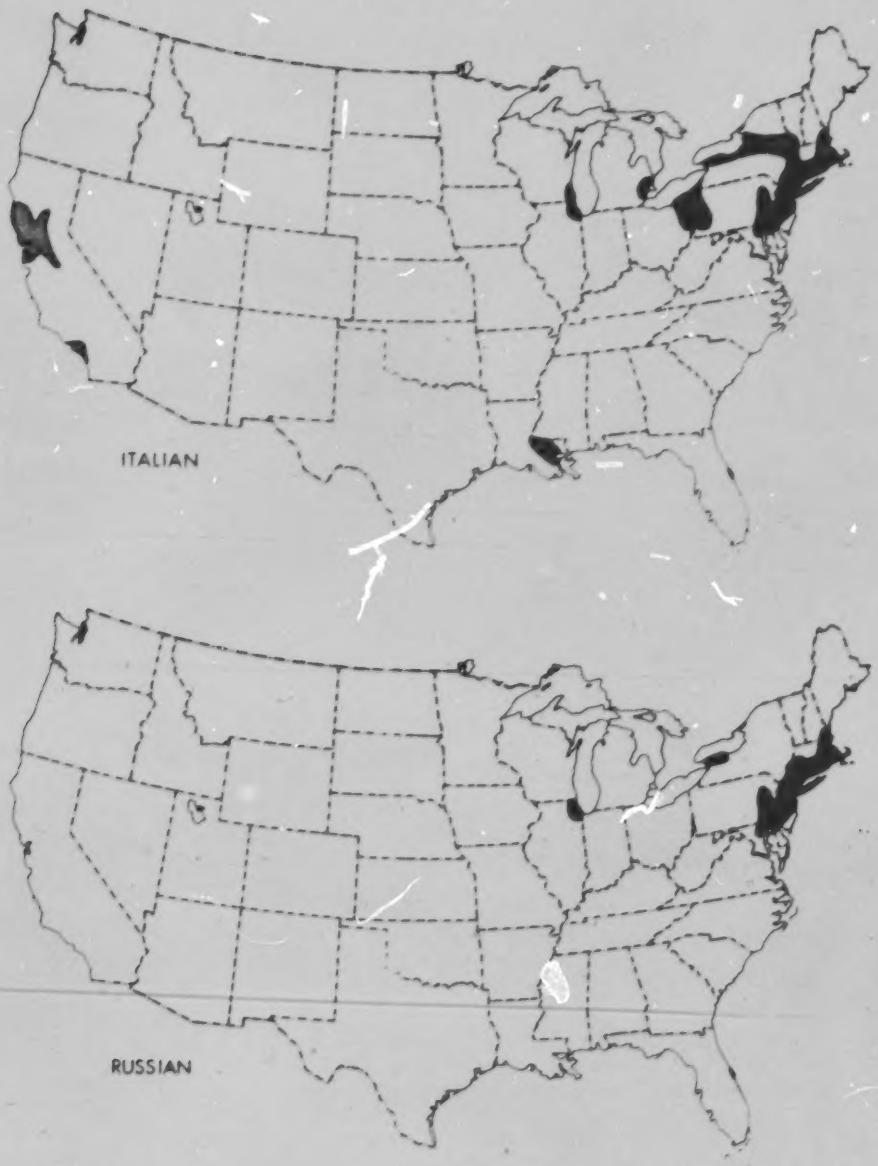
Although individual motives of immigrants may not have changed, the dimensions, destinations, and national origins of immigration to the United States after

8. Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis," unpub. Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1968); and Leon E. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), pp. 89-91.

9. Jones reasons that European immigrants avoided the South in favor of the North because of fewer employment opportunities, fewer direct trans-Atlantic shipping connections, and more difficulty in obtaining land; *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21.

FIGURE 2

THE "NEW" IMMIGRANTS: 1890–1920



1890 had clearly undergone important shifts. By the time of the enactment of restrictive immigration laws in the early 1920's, the 'new' immigration had once again altered the ethnic composition of large areas of the country. Despite interruptions in the flow of migrants caused by severe economic depression and world war at the beginning and end of this thirty-year period, more than 18 million persons immigrated to the United States, a total surpassing that of the preceding seventy years by three and a half million. During the initial decade of the twentieth century, arrivals reached peaks of over one million per year.

Adding to the intensity of this movement was the shift in migrant origins from northwestern Europe to southern and eastern Europe. Although Germans, Scandinavians, British, and Irish immigrants still entered, migrants from Italy, Russia, and the Austro-Hungarian empire provided up to two-thirds of the new arrivals. Along with the various social upheavals of industrialization which surfaced at this time, the unprecedented volume and new origins of immigration seemed to threaten the traditional fabric of American life. In response, anti-foreign agitation reappeared, culminating with the discriminatory restriction laws.[10]

One element contributing to this sense of foreboding was the disproportionate concentration of the new immigrants in the industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest. Impoverished, fleeing depressed European agricultural conditions, and facing a rapidly closing American frontier, most immigrants chose to remain in their port of entry or move on to another urban location where there were industrial opportunities for unskilled workers. By 1920, approximately 75% of the foreign-born lived in cities. With the exception of the Irish, the only groups to exceed this 75% average were the new immigrants—Russian, Italian, Polish, and Hungarian.

A few rural areas received significant numbers of a particular group, which eventually left an imprint on local settlement. The land-grant railroads continued to recruit settlers. As a result of these efforts, Russo-German Mennonites formed substantial pockets of settlement in Kansas and the northern Plains states, while Czechs moved into the Mississippi Valley, Nebraska, and Texas.[11] Finally, many Italians took up garden-farming in northern California and Louisiana. With these exceptions (and undoubtedly others), the proportionately fewer rural immigrants of this period were far less territorially visible than in preceding eras.

The more dramatic impact of this new immigration upon the country's settlement geography occurred *within* cities. With the adoption of rapid transit facilities at the end of the century and the initial massive flight of middle-class city dwellers to the suburbs, large numbers of immigrants reoccupied the abandoned housing of the central city, forming ethnic neighborhoods and ghettos. Russian, Jewish, Italian, and Polish neighborhoods became the largest and most well-known, but a variety of other groups, such as Lithuanians, Hungarians, Greeks, Portuguese, and Chinese, formed smaller, less exclusive concentrations.[12] The social mosaic

10. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1965).

11. Jones, p. 214.

12. The development of ethnic neighborhoods occurred simultaneously with the emergence of black residential areas in many northern cities.

of the earlier American countryside was thus telescoped into an equally differentiated social space within the industrial city.

As in earlier periods, the regionalization of immigrant flows within the country created systematic variations in the ethnic composition of the regions' cities. Through transportation connections, industrial labor recruitment, employment penchants, and immigrant institutional attractions, the various ethnic groups concentrated in specific cities. The three mid-Atlantic seaports—New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—and the inland emporium of Chicago attracted the greatest variety of immigrants. Russian Jews and Italians concentrated in the eastern port cities, filling the unskilled laboring jobs and task-work opportunities that abounded in their commercial-industrial economies. While small pockets of Russian Jews eventually arose in most of the nation's commercial centers, Italians spread primarily throughout the smaller industrial centers of the Northeast and New England in particular. The various Slavic groups moved into the iron and steel industries of east coast cities, such as Newark, Bridgeport, and Baltimore, but they became predominant in the inland mining towns and heavy industrial centers, for example, Scranton, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Gary.[13]

Thus, by 1920 the ethnically diverse cities of industrial America had taken on imprints of particular ethnic groups that in part still identify these cities today. New England had the greatest regional diversity in the various smaller French Canadian, Italian, and Portuguese industrialized cities, all overshadowed by the Irish flavor of Boston. There were elsewhere, to name a few, the older German communities of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee; the Polish of Detroit, Buffalo, and Baltimore; the Russian Jews and Italians of New York and Chicago; and the Chinese of San Francisco. And, in reality, most of these larger cities could boast of a major ethnic community from both the old and new immigrant waves, in addition to small clusters of other groups. Accordingly, the prominent Milwaukee Germans had to share their urban scene with the newly arriving Polish. In effect, the regionalization of immigration had created a few typical 'layer cakes' of ethnic composition, spiced by unique local variations.

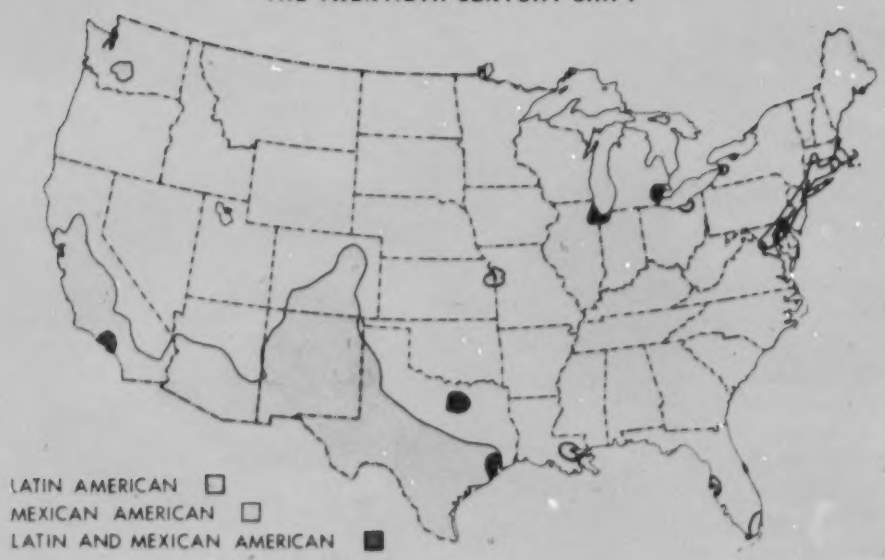
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SHIFT

Legislative restrictions on immigration in the 1920's were aimed at not only reducing the flow of immigrants but also curbing the influx of the new immigrants, for it was feared that they were altering the basic 'racial' composition of the American population. In conjunction with subsequent European embroilments and economic depression, the restrictions achieved both goals. British and German immigrants (often refugees from Hitler's policies) again predominated among European arrivals, and many of these were skilled workers and professionals who moved relatively easily into American urban life. Although never approaching earlier dimensions, substantial numbers of southern and eastern European groups have entered the United States in recent decades and settled in the traditionally

13. Ward, pp. 75-81.

FIGURE 3

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SHIFT



ethnic industrial cities. Because of their recent arrival and the decline of the original ethnic neighborhoods, these new immigrants have frequently formed their own small enclaves.

The decision in 1924 to exempt the Western Hemisphere from the quota system has had dramatic effects upon the nation's settlement geography. At first, Canadians (particularly Anglo-Canadians) constituted the single largest group of immigrants and assimilated quickly into American life. However, after World War II, Mexican, Caribbean (including Puerto Rican), and South American immigrants, mostly Spanish-speaking, have outnumbered the arrivals from any of the traditional source countries.[14]

Although originally coming as temporary laborers to agricultural fields, Mexican migrants have taken up permanant residence legally and illegally in the states proximate to the Mexican-American border. From the Rio Grande Valley in Texas to southern and central California, substantial Mexican communities have developed in rural and urban contexts, recalling and sometimes invigorating the pre-Anglo origins of European settlement in the Southwest.[15] The large num-

14. Puerto Ricans are really migrants within the political structure of the United States; however, as Spanish-speaking persons and as a group which has experienced racial prejudice, they have been included in this discussion of Latin American immigrants.

15. D. W. Meinig, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); and Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60 (1970), 638-61.

bers, local residential segregation, and distinctive characteristics of religion, speech, dress, and diets of the Mexican-American population have made the Southwest one of the nation's most culturally plural regions. The Mexican inhabitants of the *barrios* of Los Angeles and other southwestern cities, frequently employed as domestics, garment workers, and service personnel, combine with blacks and Orientals to give those cities typically complex social geographies, though distinctively different from the European ethnicity of older cities. Offshoots from the normal paths of migrant agricultural laborers have spread Mexicans throughout the far West and midwestern states. Even seemingly remote cities in Wisconsin now contain flourishing Mexican communities.

In contrast, the flow of Spanish-speaking migrants from the West Indies and Puerto Rico was less concentrated in proximate U.S. areas and more urban oriented. West Indians filled both laboring *and* skilled opportunities in Atlantic coastal cities from Florida to Massachusetts until purposeful legislative restriction took place in the early 1950's.[16] After the Cuban revolution, thousands of that island's inhabitants joined this flow, in particular establishing the large Cuban community of Miami.

As the traditional commercial link to the continental U.S., New York City attracted the majority of Puerto Rican migrants, who filled the unskilled jobs that had previously been the preserve of European immigrants. In recent decades, the continued influx of Puerto Ricans has supported their diffusion to many industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest where, because of their language barrier, perceived racial distinctiveness, and economic position, they have generally ended up in separate residential concentrations. In the same way, the relatively recent influx of Central and South Americans (often illegally) has created separate Spanish-speaking communities in many Florida cities as well as in major cities to the north, e.g., Washington, D.C.

Finally, reflecting growing American activity in the Pacific after World War II, a variety of Asian migrants (Philippino, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and recently Vietnamese) has constituted a growing proportion of the nation's immigrants. Joining substantial extant Japanese- and Chinese-American communities on the west coast, these immigrants have also spread to many of the major metropolitan areas and established small but distinctive communities, often occupying no more than a few blocks in an already ethnically diverse area. Thus, as a result of legislative policies and American international, economic, and political activities, the national origins of immigrants to this country have dramatically shifted from European countries to those of Latin America and Asia. Although the dimensions of this newest immigration have only recently begun to approach those of the nineteenth century, the imprint upon specific regions and cities in language, music, diets, and other behavioral aspects is becoming quite marked.

16. Jones, p. 295.

Contemporary Cultural Plurality: A Geographical Perspective

Most observers of American life agree that in spite of the varied origins of the population a national culture has emerged and flourished. The socioeconomic processes of modernization, combined with an acceptance of fundamental political principles, have resulted in shared attitudinal and behavioral patterns. One historian wrote that "To the Founding Fathers *e pluribus unum* meant the fusion of thirteen separate states into a single political unit; to the mid-twentieth-century American it also denotes the unity that has developed from the mingling of peoples diverse in origin but sharing a common devotion to liberty, democracy, and tolerance."[17] More recently, a cultural geographer has argued that the belief in American principles, veneration of patriotic symbols, and acceptance of an American way of life suggest the existence of an Americanism which is now the national religion.[18] Immigrant groups upon integrating into the American scene inevitably undergo fundamental changes; although in the process they contribute to the evolving character of the American enterprise, "when they emerge they will be the creature of America, not America their creature."[19]

The recognition of a national American culture and unity does not preclude the existence of cultural pluralism in the society. The process of assimilation involves many aspects of life, so that one (or a group) may be located at a stage of the process somewhere along a continuum running from total separation from the larger society on the one hand to total assimilation on the other. The different backgrounds, internal fragmentations, and educational, occupational, and political experiences in America have resulted in varying rates and degrees of assimilation between and within the different immigrant groups.

While the most recent mid-twentieth-century immigrants from Latin America and Asia—with vast differences in religion, race, and language—have only begun the assimilative process, current generations of the oldest groups only weakly (if at all) recognize their ethnic origins and usually think of themselves as the basic American stock. The European immigrant groups of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exist in varying states of partial to complete assimilation. Although it is common to observe that their ethnic distinctiveness is rapidly fading, subconscious, self-perceived, and active attitudinal and behavioral differences still punctuate the contemporary society.

Visible signs of Americanization can often obscure important aspects of continued plurality. Despite shared principles and integrated economic and political participation, cultural subgroups may exist through the maintenance of primary social relationships separate from the larger society. Members of a subgroup may accept civic responsibilities, enjoy equal economic opportunities, adopt outward

17. Jones, p. 319.

18. Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973), p. 95.

19. Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization*, Vol. 1 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 85.

behavioral customs, and experience little prejudice, but they may simultaneously confine their primary social interactions to other members of their group, in particular rarely marrying outside of it. Such a pattern maintains separate group identity through partial assimilation to the larger society and accordingly fosters a culturally plural society.

In 1963 a prominent sociologist argued that race, religion, and ethnicity still created the plurality of contemporary American life.[20] In addition to racial minorities and recent immigrants, however, many older ethnic groups have expanded their primary social relations to include other ethnic groups of the same religion. That is to say, assimilation within the three major religions—Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism—has forged a new dimension of plurality. And it is possible to speculate that the newest generation of young adults has been ignoring even these broad lines of grouping and adopting new ones based on specific interests, which bear no relationship to their ethnic or religious heritage.[21]

The persistence of different degrees of cultural plurality presently combines with the regionalization of immigration and settlement to produce a culturally varied landscape in both rural and urban areas. American "regions and subregions are the fusion of people and place, of environment, stock, economics, dialect, history, consciousness, and ways of life," and "these regional cultures are the carriers of American diversity."[22] Where immigrant groups have concentrated in large numbers, especially during the early stages of regional settlement, they have tended to contribute to this fusion of people and place. Although the arrival of different groups at different times and the changes in American life have produced a layering effect in some regions so that the top layer is often most visible, all layers influence the fusion and leave material as well as nonmaterial traces. Thus, one notices today the unmistakable though varying imprints of old and recent groups—French Canadians and Puerto Ricans in New England, American Indians and Scandinavians in the upper Midwest, the French and Italians in southern Louisiana, Mexicans and Orientals in the Southwest, and a variety of other groups on more local levels, some of which, such as the Amish, have barely begun to assimilate.

As primary destination for the two latest waves of immigrants, the cities reflect most dramatically the varying degrees of cultural pluralism. Sometimes the entire city exudes the air of an ethnic group that was predominant in its early development, such as the Germans of Milwaukee. At the same time, a few older central-city neighborhoods often remain as relics of once vigorous ethnic ghettos. Although either the wrecking ball or a succession of subsequent residential groups has obliterated many of these ethnic areas, human, institutional, and architectural remnants may remind us of the past inhabitants.

More frequently, working-class suburbs exist as the bastion of ethnic solidarity among these older groups. Formed as areas of ethnic reconcentration during the

20. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

21. Zelinsky, pp. 134-39.

22. Lerner, pp. 182-83.

initial outward (and upward) movement from the original inner-city neighborhoods, these suburbs today have suffered the loss of mobile younger generations and stand embattled against the relentless inflow of other newly rising groups. In addition to these neighborhood manifestations of ethnic grouping, social networks of ethnic and religious origin, but without a spatial foundation, crisscross the city. Because of electronic communication and automotive transportation, group relationships may be maintained without the necessity of physical proximity, and, consequently, residential locations may be selected on the basis of criteria other than ethnic identification, e.g., cost, schools, environment, and access to job.

Finally, the newest immigrant groups have continued the familiar pattern of congregating in older residential areas and establishing visibly different cultural milieus with their own informational, service, and recreational institutions. Spanish-speaking migrants from Mexico and the rest of Latin America have formed the largest urban concentrations today, but the smaller recent arrivals from the Mediterranean countries have also established distinctive neighborhoods, e.g., the Portuguese in Newark.

Whether as an active citizen of a metropolitan area or through a more leisurely peregrination of the countryside, one eventually recognizes the great plurality in regional and urban settlement that partially defines the essence of the American experience in the past, today, and in the future. As the region closest to Europe, longest settled, and most thoroughly transformed by urban industrialism, the Northeast received the greatest variety and largest number of immigrants. Along with the current influx of various foreign-born groups, the recent large-scale movement of Puerto Ricans to northeastern cities is carrying on the region's heritage of ethnic diversity. During the Bicentennial, one might reflect that "while there are reasons to celebrate, there are also promises still to keep. It seems imperative to consider not only where we Americans have been but where we have to go."[23]

23. Bill Moyers, "Promises Still to Keep," *Newsweek*, 86 (September 22, 1975), 88.

Origins

The French-Speaking

Many historical accounts of the French settling in North America include the same romantic intrigues that can be read in the pages of a modern novel.

The first settlement of Canada, in which term is of course included Acadia, or, as it is now known, Nova Scotia, was touched by a strange romance. The Sieur de Roberval was on his voyage to join the great Jacques Cartier and with him to found a colony, when he discovered that his niece, Marguerite de Roberval, loved, more fondly than was consistent with the Sieur's conceptions of right, a young cavalier of his company. A lonely island, known as the Isle of Demons, was sighted soon after this discovery was made; and Roberval sternly condemned his niece to perpetual imprisonment on this barren rock. Her lover jumped overboard and swam after his beloved; and together they lived, forgotten by men, on the island, thus founding the first Canadian home. A child was born to them, but it died early, and Marguerite's lover, whose name has not come down to us, soon followed his infant. Marguerite with her own hands hollowed the graves of those she loved, and then she lived on, more lonely than even Alexander Selkirk, on this island which was for her full of terrors, real and imagined; the nature of the latter may be guessed from the name bestowed upon the place. She was clad in skins and learned to use the guns with which, in strange mercy, she had been provided by her uncle; and it was not until more than two years had passed that she was rescued by some Maloine fishermen and found her way to her native land. Here she lived in seclusion until her death, which did not come until she had passed the number of years alloted to men.[1]

1. John Rouse Larus, *Women in All Ages and in All Countries: Women of America* (Philadelphia: Rittenhouse Press, 1908), pp. 254-55.

However great the temptation to dismiss similar narratives as historical or literary fancies, they do illustrate a common adventuresome behavior which French settlers shared with French discoverers and explorers. The political, economic, and religious ambitions of French colonial rulers and adventurers were played out against the background of people's daily concerns.

In this context, Verrazano's navigation of the Atlantic shore from the Carolinas to Nova Scotia in 1524 and Cartier's exploration of the mouth of the Saint Lawrence in 1534 occurred concurrently with the activities of Breton fishermen along the northern Atlantic coast during the sixteenth century. Similarly, the valor of the massacred French Huguenots at Fort Caroline, Florida, in 1565 was equal to the courage displayed by their leader, Ribaud.

The pioneer experiences and peaceful existence of the first Acadian farmers are not overshadowed by the leadership of such settlers as Sieur Pierre de Monts (1604), Baron de Poutrincourt (1607), Isaac de Razilly (1632), or Charles d'Aulnay (1635). The founding of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain in 1608 does not obscure the fact that an apothecary-farmer, Louis Hébert, and his family were the first to settle permanently in that city. Nor does the fact that Bertrand Ageron became the first French governor of Saint-Dominique at l'Ile de la Tortue in 1625 mitigate the sufferings of black slaves for the benefit of French colonialism.

Thus, like other nations, through the middle of the eighteenth century, France was vying for its share of wealth in the New World through the efforts of individuals such as Cadillac, La Salle, Iberville, Bienville, Marquette, and Joliet. Like other European adventurers, they gained new knowledge and experience in such areas as navigation, agriculture, art, and colonial rule. However, the common settlers' individual and group experiences were as important in the molding of a different people. Through a process of independent evolution, these European transplants were living and defining a new democratic creed. Time and distance were making them aliens to their loyalist leaders.

To illustrate this evolution among the French settlers, we have but to study four distinct French cultural groups which had emerged in the New World by the end of the American Revolution: Acadians, French, French-Canadians, and Haitians. These groups were eventually to influence the Northeastern states.

THE ACADIANS

The first permanent French settlers arrived in North America in 1604 after Sieur Pierre de Monts received permission from Henry IV to found a colony in Acadia in the name of France. The region, previously explored and named by Verrazano, included the present state of Maine and the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

After an initial expedition off the coast of Maine to the Island of St. Croix, the settlers established permanent settlements in such places as present-day Annapolis

Royal,[2] La Have,[3] Saint John,[4] Beauséjour, and Grand Pré. The Acadians, as the new inhabitants were called, came mostly from the French provinces of Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, and Picardy. They were chiefly farmers and fishermen in their new land.

However, for over 150 years, their farms, ports, and lives were at the mercy of the warring French and British rulers, who by a succession of treaties alternately dominated the region. The years between 1720 and 1755 seemed to augur a permanent peaceful existence under British rule. The only stipulation on which the Acadians had put forth as a condition of their allegiance to England was that they would not bear arms against their own.

Nevertheless, between 1755 and 1763, thousands of Acadians were evicted from their marshland farms and deported to colonies along the Atlantic coast: 2,000 to Massachusetts, 700 to Connecticut, 300 to New York, 500 to Pennsylvania, 1,000 to Maryland, 1,140 to Virginia, 500 to Carolina, and 400 to Georgia. Another 3,000 were deported from Prince Edward Island to England.[5] The story of the deportation and dispersion of the Acadians is familiar through such accounts as Longfellow's *Evangeline*[6] and Emile Lauvrière's *La Tragédie d'un Peuple*.[7]

Much later, one historian would write:

> There have been instances, in the annals of the past, in which a country has been desolated in time of actual war, and where inhabitants were found in arms, but we defy all past history to produce a parallel case, in which an unarmed and peaceable people have suffered to such an extent as did the French Neutrals of Acadia.[8]

The British general, Charles Lawrence,[9] and his men were not able to capture all French settlers in Nova Scotia. Some fled into the forests of New Brunswick; others reached the St. Lawrence River valley. One group escaping deportation fled to Ecoupahg, a Malecite Indian village on the St. John River in New Brunswick. There, they founded a village which they called Ste. Anne-des-pays-bas.[10] In February 1759, during the French and Indian War, Major Moses Hazen of Colonel Robert Monckton's regiment caught up with the Acadians and burned their village, forcing them to flee to Quebec.

After the Treaty of Paris (1763), few French-Acadians who remained in the

2. Annapolis Royal was known as Port Royal.

3. La Have was known as La Hève.

4. Saint John was a stronghold called Fort Saint-Jean.

5. Bona Arsenault, *History of the Acadians* (Quebec: Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1966), p. 151.

6. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (St. Martinville, La.: Teche News, 1968).

7. Two vols. (Paris: France-Canada, 1924).

8. George Frederick Clarke, *Expulsion of the Acadians: The True Story* (Fredericton, N.B.: Brunswick Press, 1965), p. 29.

9. General Charles Lawrence, Governor of Chibouctou (present-day Halifax)—not the British government—was solely responsible for the initial deportation of the Acadians according to historian George F. Clarke.

10. Ste. Anne-des-pays-bas is now called Fredericton, New Brunswick.

Atlantic coastal states retained their identity. Basile Lanoue is a notable exception. Deported to South Carolina, he was elected State Legislator in 1796, 1798, and 1802. Over the years, the spelling of Lanoue became Lanneau, and the family included such prominent Americans as Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and Fleetwood Lanneau. Because the majority of those deported felt alienated by their new environment, some traveled on to Europe, Louisiana, or Quebec; still others returned to their 'Acadian' homeland.

Although not participants in the American Revolution, the maritime Acadians were vitally affected by it. As British Loyalists were evicted from the former British colonies, the land in the remaining crown colonies was surveyed and granted to them. Over 10,000 settled in the part of Nova Scotia which became New Brunswick in 1784, often called the Loyalist Province.

The land settled by these Loyalists in many instances included the farms which the Acadians had settled for the second time twenty years earlier. Since the Acadians had been refugees from the war and did not realize that title to the land was required, they were considered squatters by the newly-arrived Loyalists. The American Revolution resulted, therefore, in again uprooting a group of French Acadians, this time to Maine. "My God. My God. Is there no place in this land where an Acadian may rest his head in peace?" uttered Jean-Baptiste Cyr, whose farm in southern New Brunswick had been taken by Loyalists in 1783.[11] Planning to leave for the Madawaska Territory, he died after a life of repeated, forced migration.

While the Acadians moved from Fredericton, N.B., to the Madawaska Territory in 1785, it in no way represented an adoption of American citizenship. Ownership of the region into which they moved was an unsettled question at that time. The British claimed the area, as did the State of Maine; the Acadians themselves perceived it as a move from one portion of the British province to another. In the Madawaska Territory, the Acadians, promised titles to land along the St. John River, finally received them in 1790.

THE FRENCH-CANADIANS

On 25 September 1760, Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* praised "the glorious news of the Reduction of Montreal by General Amherst."[12] A broadside printed in Boston in the same year reflected the mood of the victors:

11. Thomas Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1920), p. 85.

12. Francis G. Walett, "Celebrations of Victory Couldn't Hide Problems," *Bangor Daily News* (April 1975).

CANADA SUBJECTED

A New Song

...

The Savages lay down their Arms.
The French do cease to raise Alarms.
Now Canada is fallen down
Before the Troops of GEORGE'S Crown.

Great was the Day of our Success,
When Heav'n our Hosts was pleas'd to bless
When proud Quebec and Montreal
A Prey to English Troops did fall.

...

Behold the bloody Sons of Gaul!
Rejoice with Trembling at their Fall.
The Blood which cruelly they shed
Has fall'n on their own guilty Heads.
...

Ye holy Prophets now rejoice,
And ye GOD's Saints that hear his Voice;
Because the Lord hath saved you
From Insults of the Popish Crew.

With them was found the Blood of Slain,
And on their robes there was a Stain;
They drunken were with Christian Blood,
Which flowed down like as a Flood.

Hail, happy Day!—the blushing Morn
With Pleasure may our Souls adorn,
When proud Montreal became a Prey
We'll ever bless the glorious Day!

...

The Time will come, when Pope and Fry'r
Shall both be roasted in the Fire;
When the proud Antichristian Whore
Will sink, and never arise more.[13]

In the context of the brutality displayed during the French and Indian War (1756-63), the broadside came as no shock to the contemporary colonial reader.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave Great Britain all of Canada and North America east of the Mississippi, thus eliminating effective French power in the region. However, neither the British nor the colonists could foresee the struggle that would erupt in less than fifteen years. The end of French power would lessen colonial dependence on the British for protection. The war years had encouraged much thinking about colonial policy, resulting in stricter enforcement of trade regulations, tighter customs administration, and stronger supervision of the colonies. New taxation policies increased the indignation of the colonists, who turned to their former French-Canadian foes in their struggle for independence.

In 1764 many migrants from the former French colony settled in Massachusetts. Between 1775 and 1783, an even larger number settled throughout the northeastern region; many of them joined Washington's army. Several hundred of them took part in the Arnold-Montgomery expedition against Quebec—their former homeland, now under British rule—and a company of such soldiers, under the leadership of Captain Clément Gosselin, distinguished themselves at Yorktown.[14]

Following the American Revolution, many of these soldiers received tracts of land along Lake Champlain in New York. In 1814, John Gilmary Shea reported that this first French-Canadian colony in New England was requesting a permanent priest for its mission. One of the first French-Canadians to immigrate to

13. Reprinted in *Bangor Daily News* (May 1975).

14. Alexandre Goulet, *Une Nouvelle France en Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie de Jurisprudence Ancienne et Moderne, 1934).

Woonsocket, Rhode Island, was François Proulx in 1815; the first to settle in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1820, was Charles Benoit.[15]

Many of the estimated 100,000 French-Canadians who emigrated to the United States before 1854 may not have been willing to live under British rule. What is certain is that their number continued to increase for economic reasons, e.g., crop failures and overpopulated 'seigneuries'[16] along the St. Lawrence River.

By the end of the Civil War, one of the ironies of history had become obvious to Shea when he wrote:

> Meanwhile, Catholic (French) Canada is sending her Catholic sons, her priests, her devoted Sisterhood, into this country. New England, which sought with such rabid hate to crush Canada and Canadian Catholicity, now sees her towns swarm with Canadian Catholics, with churches and convents. Did the early Cottons, and Mathers, and Endicotts, and Winthrops, ever dream of such a result? Did they foresee that when their stern unchristian Calvinism had given place to Unitarianism there would be seventy thousand Canadian Catholics in Massachusetts, thirteen thousand in New Hampshire, more than twice as many in New Hampshire Grants, ten thousand in Rhode Island, and as many in Connecticut, and twenty-six thousand in the district of Maine, living their Canadian life, with church, and priest, and nun, reproducing that hated province on that New England soil, which they sought to separate by a wall of fire from all dissent? Catholics of other lands there would be, in their eyes, bad enough: the despised Irish Catholics bad, very bad; horrible enough; but nothing, we think, would have curdled the blood of those New England worthies of the early part of the last century, more than the mere suggestion of the possibility that the day would come when one hundred and fifty thousand Canadian Catholics would quietly seat themselves on the sacred soil of New England.[17]

Beset with declining productivity, Quebec in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was unable to support its rapidly expanding population. New England factory towns were near and offered employment opportunities. The greatest emigration, begun with the Civil War, ended with World War I. It has been estimated that by 1900, 575,000 French-Canadians had established permanent residence in New England.[18]

Franco-Americans were, in some cases, in the majority in certain localities. The United States census for 1900, for instance, listed the following Franco-American percentages of the total population:

Jewitt City, Conn.	66%	Spencer, Mass.	52%
Danielson, Conn.	64%	Old Town, Me.	52%
Woonsocket, R.I.	60%	Lewiston, Me.	46%
Southbridge, Mass.	60%	Waterville, Me.	45%
Brunswick, Me.	54%	Manchester, N.H.	40%

15. *Ibid.*

16. Land grants given to some French colonial settlers usually for the purpose of farming; many were on the banks of the Saint Lawrence River near the city of Quebec.

17. Brothers of the Christian Schools, *Lessons in English* (1875), pp. 411-12.

18. Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis," Diss. Wisconsin 1968, p. 275, Table 17. Present-day population is estimated

About the turn of the century, French-Canadian immigrants in New England began to refer to themselves as Franco-Americans. The designation meant that they were Americans, loyal to their mother tongue. This is still the name preferred by members of the group, in spite of the fact that it does not specify French-Canadian birth or descent, Roman Catholic faith, and residence in New England.

Until the 1930's, the textile industry dominated many northeastern cities and towns, and most Franco-Americans worked in the mills. Honoré Beaugrand's *Jeanne la Fileuse*,[19] the first Franco-American novel, depicts a typical situation. Seventeen-year-old Michel Dupuis precedes his family to Fall River and works in the spinning room of the Granite Mill. Jobs and lodging in one of the company houses are secured in advance for the rest of the family. The father finds employment unloading cotton bales; after an apprenticeship lasting one month, two daughters, aged fifteen and thirteen, work in the weaving room. Three younger children, aged twelve, ten, and eight, attend school for twenty weeks, as required by state law, and then join their sisters in the weaving room. The heroine, an orphan who has accompanied the Dupuis family to Fall River, is chosen to operate a new type of machine, considered to be very demanding work. She is, consequently, better paid.

Workers were generally segregated by sex and sometimes even by nationality. According to Beaugrand, Franco-American women were particularly skilled in carding, spooling, and weaving.

Work in textile mills was monotonous and debilitating. Many workers left because of excessive dust and noise. Even Beaugrand, one of the industry's most enthusiastic propagandists, conceded that it was sometimes difficult to breathe and that many felt sick, tired, and unhappy. Machines were relentless taskmasters. However, the slavery of the mills was soon forgotten, he said, when payday arrived.

Early textile mills were firetraps; the climax of *Jeanne la Fileuse* is a conflagration which takes the lives of twenty-three persons and causes serious injury to thirty-six more trapped on the sixth floor of the Granite Mill. The author is quick to point out that fire escapes were immediately installed by the owner. (However, a report dated 1886 noted that such safety devices were still not the rule in textile mills.)

In 1900 at least one-third of the New England textile workers were Franco-Americans. In New Hampshire, they exceeded 46 percent and in Maine were nearly 49 percent. Half the workers of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in Manchester, New Hampshire, once the largest textile mill in the world, were Franco-Americans. This figure remained constant until the company shut down in 1935. In that year, more than 17,000 persons—about half of them female—were employed by the mill.[20]

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at 1.5 million by Adolphe Robert and Thomas M. Landry, "Mémoire. Les Catholiques Américains de Langue Française en Nouvelle-Angleterre," in *Notre Vie franco-américaine* (Boston: Comité d'orientation franco-américaine, 1949), p. 19.

19. Fall River, Mass.: 1878.

20. Daniel Creamer and Charles W. Coulter, *Labor and the Shut-Down of the Amoskeag Textile Mills* (1939; rpt. New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1971), pp. 69-70, 330, Table G-6.

Religion and language, along with a strong work ethic, were the mainstays of Franco-Americans in the Northeast. Good citizenship was also stressed. Civic leaders—from Ferdinand Gagnon in the 1870's and 1880's through Louis-Philippe Gagné in the 1940's and 1950's—urged Franco-Americans to become naturalized and to exercise their right to vote. Many localities elected Franco-American aldermen, state representatives, and senators, beginning with Charles Fontaine of Winooski, Vermont, who was elected State Representative in 1874. The State of Rhode Island has had several Franco-American governors, United States Representatives, and a United States Senator.

THE HAITIANS

Haiti occupies the center of the Antilles, surrounded by Puerto Rico to the east, Cuba to the northwest, and Jamaica to the southwest. Before its discovery by Christopher Columbus, Haiti, 'The Land of Mountains,' included five kingdoms: Le Marien, Le Magela, Le Zaragua, Le Maguane, and Le Higuey.[21] Basic economic needs were met by farming and fishing. Social activities included poetry, dancing, singing, and *batos*, a sport comparable to soccer. Voodoo and the worship of the sun, moon, or animals were religious rituals.

On 5 December 1492, the feast of Saint Nicholas, Columbus landed in Haiti. He renamed the island Hispaniola and its inhabitants Indians. The Spaniards became absolute rulers. Hungry for gold and using the natives as laborers, the conquerors subjected the Indians to extreme cruelty, leading to their almost total disappearance. They were replaced by African Blacks called Négriers. The new arrivals were sold at *La Traite des Noirs* (The Black Trade).

French Flibustiers and Buccaneers,[22] robbing Spanish ships, established themselves on the western half of the island in 1625 and renamed the region Saint-Domingue. The new settlers became rich through trade in sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, and indigo.

The slave trade continued during the French occupation, and in spite of *Le Code Noir* of Louis XIV (1665) slaves were still mistreated. Three populations gradually emerged: white, enfranchised slaves, and slaves.[23] On 8 March 1790, the French National Assembly granted the rights of citizens to all enfranchised slaves. The application of this revolutionary principle was difficult against the background of colonial authority and traditions, and a struggle for political and social rights of all Blacks on the island was soon being waged. The deaths of such leaders as Vincent Ogé, Jean-Baptiste Chavanne, and Boukman did not discourage the newly-liberated citizens. In 1793, Sonthonax, on his own authority, proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves in the north, west, and south of the island.[24]

21. A kingdom was called *cacicat* and its chieftain was a *cacique*.

22. Flibustiers were French pirates who attacked mainly Spanish ships. Buccaneers (*Boucaniers*) lived by hunting and were so called because they smoked their venison.

23. Former slaves and free mulatoes were called enfranchised slaves.

24. Civil commissioners were sent from France to Saint-Domingue periodically to deal with such problems as English intrusion, slavery, or control of guerilla warfare. Sonthonax was such a commissioner. While he emancipated the Blacks, it was only to subjugate them to French rule. Toussaint wanted the emancipation of Blacks under black rule.

Toussaint Louverture, commander-in-chief of the colonial army, had become one of the main advocates of black emancipation and black rule. Between 1796 and 1800, he drove the English invaders out of Saint-Domingue and defeated General Rigaud, who had refused to submit to his orders.[25] Finally, he took possession of the eastern part of the island, which had been ceded to France by Spain in 1795. Wanting to assure Haiti's attachment to France with dominion status, he turned his attention to the tasks of reconstruction, administrative unity, and assurance of black liberty against internal and external foes.

Napoleon Bonaparte, uneasy over the turn of events, sent his brother-in-law, Leclerc, to reestablish French domination over the island. The expedition arrived on 4 February 1802, and the French were temporarily victorious. Louverture was arrested and deported to France, where he died in prison in 1803.

In May 1803, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Alexandre Pétion, and Henry Christophe rallied under the newly-created blue and red Haitian flag to pursue the French. The French army surrendered after the battle at Fort Vertière near Cap-Français. Peace was achieved in November 1803.

> The independence of Saint-Domingue is proclaimed, returned to our primitive dignity, we have claimed our rights, we swear never to yield them to any power on earth. The frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces. Be it so forever! Woe be to whomsoever would dare again to put together the bloody tatters![26]

Saint-Domingue was proclaimed the first black republic and the second sovereign nation in the New World at Gonaïves on 1 January 1804, and the French colonial name was replaced by the aboriginal term Haiti. For twenty years the new nation experienced internal strife which divided its people and geography. It was not until 1829, under the presidency of Jean-Pierre Boyer, that the island became one state.

France had recognized Haiti's independence in 1824, Britain in 1833. Official United States recognition of Haiti's independence did not come until 1862, partly because of political and social differences between New England traders and Southern planters, and partly because of governmental uncertainty over the ability of former slaves to rule. Because of racial prejudice and efforts at colonization, immigration to Haiti of black American freedmen had been encouraged under the administrations of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Until recently, emigration from the island had been minimal or of a transient nature, e.g., researchers, diplomats, or students who always returned, or a few immigrants to Louisiana. However, an influx of Haitians into metropolitan areas, including those of the Northeast, has been visible since 1959.

25. Toussaint, who had fought alongside General Rigaud, was willing to govern Haiti jointly with him. However, Rigaud, encouraged by the French, was not willing to share the governorship; skirmishes followed and Toussaint was the victor.

26. George F. Tyson Jr., *Toussaint L'Ouverture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 1.

THE FRENCH

In the early part of the sixteenth century, Verrazano sailed along the Atlantic coast from Carolina to Nova Scotia, trading with natives and taking formal possession of the country which he called New France. Ten years later, in 1535, Jacques Cartier, continuing the work of the Florentine explorer, sailed around Newfoundland to discover the Saint Lawrence River. In search of gold as well as a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he reached the present site of Montreal. He never found the illusive passage; as for gold, on his last trip he returned to France with ten barrels of it—only to discover that it was iron pyrite.

According to tradition, Cartier met Huron Indians on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. He asked one of them "Where are we?" The reply was "Canada." Years later, the Huron word which means 'village' was adopted.

By 1562, French Huguenots had tried to settle a permanent colony in the region south of Virginia, which they named Carolina, but had failed. Another French Huguenot settlement, in Fort Caroline, Florida, under the leadership of Ribaud, was also unsuccessful, and the small band was massacred by the Spaniards who had settled in nearby St. Augustine.

Permanent settlement of North America by France began in 1608 with the founding of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain, called the Father of New France. He labored hard at exploring the New England coast, the Saint Lawrence River, and Lake Champlain. The search for a water route to the Pacific, fur trading, evangelization of the Indians, and farming had become the main occupations of the French settlers when Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve in 1642.

Until 1663, France's existence in the New World was characterized by near-failures in settlement, missionary, and trade activities. During this period, many religious and seculars, such as Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Garnier, Gabriel Lalemant, René Goupil, Isaac Jogues, and Jean Laland met with brutal death along the Saint Lawrence River.

The colonists numbered fewer than 2,500 in 1663. Yet they kept pressing northward and southwestward, in an effort to control the Ohio Valley. Marquette and Joliet explored northern Michigan and discovered the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin River, descending the river in canoes in 1673 to where it meets the Arkansas River. La Salle was the first to descend the Mississippi to its mouth. Meanwhile, Frenchmen were settling, north to south, in this middle region. Sieur Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac founded Detroit; Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, Biloxi; and Jean-Baptiste le Moyne Bienville, Natchez. Together Iberville and Bienville founded Baton Rouge and New Orleans. French fur traders were also establishing outposts such as St. Louis, settled under the direction of Pierre Laclède. Thus, France by exploration and the establishment of occasional posts acquired the land of the Great Lakes and the valley of the Mississippi.

In 1763, at the end of France's power in New France, the French-speaking inhabitants of Canada numbered about 70,000; another 50,000 French Huguenots had settled in the colonies. Within two decades, the American Revolution permanently destroyed British unity on the North American continent. Because of her trading interests, and only after visible signs of success, France consented to as-

sist the rebel colonists. Along with such leaders as the Comte Jean-Baptiste de Rochambeau, the Comte François de Grasse, and the Comte Jean-Baptiste d'Estaing, recognition should be given to the soldiers and sailors whom France dispatched to our shores, from Boston to Yorktown, to assist in the quest for independence.

However, special mention must be made of one French nobleman and soldier who unselfishly shared the democratic aspirations of the Founding Fathers: the Marquis de Lafayette. He was twenty years old when he crossed from France to volunteer, without pay, in Washington's army. He was an officer, a recruiter of French soldiers, a financial supporter, and an inspiration to the men who fought with him. After the Revolution, he returned to France to lose his wealth and to be imprisoned for five years for being a constitutional monarchist. In 1824 he made a triumphant visit to the United States. His entire life was spent in the service of two peoples, the Americans and the French.

From the time of the Treaty of Paris (1783) to the present, emigrants from France have continued to settle in the United States. Michel-Guillaume de Crèvecoeur in his *Letters from an American Farmer* probably summarizes best the French desire to integrate.

> What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a man, whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. . . . Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry, which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climate they inhabit.[27]

The German-Speaking

INTRODUCTION

The term 'German' is used here in the broadest sense, namely referring to those who were born in German-speaking territories throughout Europe. However,

27. Henry Steele Commager, ed., *America in Perspective* (New York: Mentor, 1947), p. 29.

German emigration was so extensive and long lasting that there can be no distinct consciousness regarding the term and rarely any agreement or clear identification with it due to the many subcultures and language variations involved. The degree to which these groups, and individuals within these groups, considered themselves German and were perceived as Germans varies greatly with geographic areas and periods.

This problem arises not only when dealing with the history of German immigrants once they have settled in America, but also when one turns to the country or region of origin. Some publications include all who came from German-speaking areas of Europe, i.e., Germany, German-speaking Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, the former Austro-Hungarian lands (now Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia), and the ethnic German settlements in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans. During the years 1938-45, the United States Bureau of the Census included Austrians in its German figures.[28] Since the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany, the census figures reflect the emigration of Germans in the narrowest sense and exclude those from the German Democratic Republic.

The complex history of German-speaking lands and peoples presents a challenge in the choice of groups and individuals that can, should, or wish to be identified with German culture on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition, one can begin to understand the identity crisis which many Germans in our land suffered and why the German element in America has been difficult to analyze and categorize.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION AND THE COLONIES

According to the accounts of Leif Ericson's expedition, the first German to step on North American soil was Tyrker, one of Ericson's crewmen. Norse sagas (circa 1000 A.D.) tell us further that he found grapevines and made wine, causing Ericson to name the new settlement 'Wineland (Vinland) the Good.'[29]

During the next five centuries, German scholars and cartographers, among them Mercator (Gerhard Kremer) and Martin Waldseemüller, stimulated by the discoveries and explorations of the English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese, maintained a speculative and theoretical interest in these activities. German participation in the explorations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was impossible because of political and religious disturbances which divided and weakened the German lands.[30]

Small numbers of Germans did come to North America as members of groups from other nations whose purpose was to establish settlements and maintain newly acquired colonies. For example, some evidence exists that Germans were

28. Data taken from Alberta Eiseman, "Appendix," *From Many Lands* (New York: Atheneum, 1970).

29. Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 40, 51, 62.

30. Robert Henry Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1974), p. 7.

among a small group of Huguenots who settled in Port Royal (South Carolina) in 1607 and among the first settlers of the Jamestown colony in the same year.[31]

Two events took place in 1683 which mark the beginning of the first major German influence in the American colonies. With the founding of Germantown (initially Deutschstadt), six miles from Philadelphia, by a group of German and Dutch settlers, a center of German cultural activity was established. The arrival of the *Concord*, often called the German *Mayflower*, with thirteen Mennonite families from the Rhineland town of Krefeld led by Franz Daniel Pastorius is considered the beginning of German settlement in this country.[32]

Conditions in the various German-speaking states of Europe had begun to accelerate interest in emigration. The Thirty Year's War caused social, economic, and political chaos and extreme human misery. Crop failures led to famine, hard winters and heavy taxes to near disaster for many. Political tyranny and division existed in the many small states ruled by princes who demanded financial tribute and denied religious freedom to those outside, and sometimes within, the Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic churches. There was a substantial increase in the number who turned to Pietism and mysticism. For many, emigration was the most practical escape from the religious and political problems in their homeland.[33]

Reports of Germantown reached Germany and provided a goal for those wishing to leave. In 1727 the German population of Pennsylvania had reached 20,000, and, by the eve of the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin estimated that there were over 100,000 German immigrants in colonial Pennsylvania, one-third of its population.

Among those who survived the journey and did not settle in Pennsylvania were groups of Palatines who reached North Carolina in 1709 and New York one year later. Many of their descendants still hold the land their ancestors settled in the 1720's.

Another wave of immigrants, mainly Anabaptists from the Palatinate and the Swiss canton of Bern, arrived between 1717 and 1732 and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Various German-speaking sects and members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches settled in Georgia (especially the Austrian Salzburgers), Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and the Carolinas during the first half of the eighteenth century. By 1776 these groups had become a part of American society and loyal supporters of the principles of the Revolution, particularly since they were not bound to England by any national sentiment. Military commanders and companies of Pennsylvania German riflemen distinguished themselves.[34]

31. Richard O'Connor, *The German-Americans: An Informal History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), p. 10.

32. Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, Volume I (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).

33. Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), pp. 9-11.

34. Billigmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-27.

YEARS OF EXPANSION AND MOBILITY

After the Revolution, the Germans participated in the accelerated westward movement. Together with new immigrants, many settled in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. While most of the early settlers had come from the Rhine region, later immigrants came from other German-speaking areas. In addition to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, distribution places for the immigrants now included Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

Almost 30,000 German soldiers called Hessians served as British mercenaries in the colonies during the American Revolution. Many thousands did not return home; they intermarried and therefore lost an identity with any specific German-speaking group.[35]

A short, sharp burst of emigration from southwestern Germany took place in 1816-17. This is historically interesting since the motive for leaving was no longer religious, but rather social and political. These latter motives were to dominate the émigrés until the middle of the twentieth century.

The failure of the Revolution of 1848, a movement which actually extended over the previous two decades, caused an influx of the *Dreissiger* and the *Achtundvierziger* (those of the 1830's and of 1848), whose intellectual vigor, talent, and spirit can be compared only to those who fled Germany during the Hitler era. Though they were only a small percentage of the large number of Germans who entered the United States during this period, their influence in the social, intellectual, and cultural activities of America was extensive.[36]

It is interesting to note that the fluctuation in immigration figures usually is a direct reflection of the economic, political, and social conditions in Europe and in the United States. The largest number of Germans ever to enter this country came in 1882-83. Over a quarter million arrived as they saw economic conditions improving here.[37]

During the next four decades and until the end of World War I, the immigration figures for German-speaking countries fell dramatically. Several changes in Germany which led to this decline were the stability of a unified government established in 1871, heightened social mobility within the country, humane social legislation, and less pressure for military service until 1914.[38]

AFTER WORLD WAR I

Despite the antipathy in America against Germany and Germans which was present during the First World War, German immigrants continued to arrive. In

35. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
36. Billigmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
37. Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 44, 176.
38. Billigmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

contrast to the tremendous 'transplant' of intellect, talent, and scholarship which took place in the twentieth century, the actual immigration figures are comparatively small. This is due possibly to the passage of several bills between 1921 and 1929 establishing a quota system to stem the tide of immigrants. Only 100,000 Germans were permitted to enter the United States between 1930 and 1941, and these were admitted under the national quota.[39]

After World War II, a new wave began rising sharply. For three years (1950-52), immigration averaged over 100,000 annually. Since then there has been a steady decline; today the figure hovers around 7,000 per year.[40]

The following chart attempts to show the motives of various groups which emigrated.[41]

FIGURE 1

Motive	*Group*	*Time*
Religious.	Austrian Salzburgers; Mennonites; Hutterites; Inspirationists; Harmonites.	Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
Political.	Intellectual liberals.	Following the revolutions of 1830; pre-World War II.
Economic.	Victims of famine; victims of industrialization; victims of depression.	1816–17; 1870–1900; 1930's.
Social.	Those concerned with population growth, pressures of industrial development, and threat of large urban centers.	1820–40.
Professional and Intellectual.	Those seeking new opportunities and the international exchange of ideas.	Twentieth century.

A STATISTICAL PICTURE

In Table 1 on page 16, one can see the high percentage of German immigrants in the 1820-59, 1860-89, and the 1950-69 periods. The immigration of Germans from 1820 to 1970 totals 6.8 million. Including the 1.4 million German-speaking

39. Barbara Kaye Greenleaf, *America Fever* (New York: New American Library, 1974), p. 134.

40. Figures are from the latest census report (1970) of the U.S. Department of Justice—Immigration and Naturalization Service.

41. This follows along the lines of a 1975 proposal for an exhibit on German immigration by Mack Walker of The Johns Hopkins University.

immigrants from Austria-Hungary, approximately 220,000 immigrants from the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland, and the 100,000 ethnic Germans from the Volga River and Black Sea regions of Russia, one can calculate that over 8.5 million German speakers have entered the United States in the 150 years since the Bureau of the Census began collecting statistics. This figure surpasses that of any other group.[42]

The Spanish-Speaking

SPANIARDS

In the early part of 1513 Juan Ponce de León sailed from Puerto Rico and discovered an 'island' which he named Florida. Several years later, in 1528, a group of 600 led by Panfilo de Narváez landed in Florida near Tampa Bay and divided into two groups. The larger group traveled mostly by land; the smaller group by sea. The latter group soon returned to Puerto Rico. The land party attempted to reach Mexico, but only four survived the expedition. The leader of these four, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, after spending five years in Indian captivity, finally reached Mexico, where he told of the great wealth which he had heard about from his captors.

These tales led to the formation of groups of Spanish explorers in search of gold and silver. Friar Marcos de Niza led one expedition; Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led another. Neither was particularly successful. The first permanent settlement in the continental United States was established by a contingent of 600 Spanish troops commanded by Pedro Menéndez de Aviles in 1565 in St. Augustine.

Further colonization did not take place until the end of the sixteenth century. At that point the exploration of the Southwest began. For the next two hundred years such Spaniards as Juan de Oñate, Euesebio Kino, Gaspar de Portola, and Father Junípero Serra led expeditions and established missions in the Southwest.

These early explorers and subsequent Spanish immigrants settled almost exclusively in the Southwest. A few subsequently migrated to the Northeast, but the first significant group of Spaniards who immigrated from Europe directly to the Northeast were the political refugees who fled from Spain in the late 1930's. Many of these immigrants were intellectuals—writers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc. They settled principally in New York, where they quickly found employment, usually in education.

42. LaVern J. Rippley, "A Look at Americans of German Descent," in *The Cultural Revolution in Foreign Language Teaching*, ed. Robert C. Lafayette (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook, 1975), pp. 74-75.

CUBANS

The most recent mass immigration to the United States took place after Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959. At that time many Cubans fled the island using whatever transportation they could find. They settled primarily in Florida, although many subsequently moved to the Northeast for economic and social reasons. In 1965 Fidel Castro announced a policy which liberalized emigration from the island, and President Johnson signed a bill granting unlimited entry to Cubans. In November of that year the United States began an airlift of Cubans wishing to come to this country. By 1969 over 200,000 Cubans had settled in Miami. Thousands more settled in Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C.

Until 1970 there were no published figures on the size of the Spanish-speaking population in the United States. This group includes people born in the United States who continue to speak Spanish. The 1970 census defined this group as 15% of the population on the basis of random sampling. The results may not be statistically significant for a number of reasons: many people of Spanish heritage either do not admit that Spanish is their native tongue or they try to hide their heritage for fear of oppression or ostracism, and there were many errors in the sample. It may be argued that 15% is not an accurate number.

Moreover, the 1970 census groups all Hispanics under the heading 'Spanish origin.' This makes it impossible to determine the number of Cubans (or any other Hispanic group) in the Northeast. (The 1970 census figures were cited on p. 16.)

Several cities have taken a census of various ethnic groups. From these figures we know that there are at least 15,000 Cubans in New York City, 10,000 in Boston, more than 4,000 in Washington, 45,000 in Elizabeth and Union City, New Jersey.

Table 1, furnished by the U.S. Office of Immigration and Naturalization, shows that Cuban immigration for 1970 was significant, ranking second among the Hispanic groups. It must be remembered, however, that since Puerto Ricans are not immigrants, but rather American citizens, they are not included in this table.

Since 1970, the number of Cubans immigrating to the United States has decreased steadily, indicating that those who wished to leave did so between 1965 and 1970. Most of those who entered after that period were friends and relatives of those who had already left the island.

Cuban émigrés continue to arrive in this country via Spain. One need only observe the lines of Cubans seeking entry visas at the American Embassy in Madrid to realize that the influx of Cubans from Spain will continue for the foreseeable future.

Cuban immigrants who have arrived during the past seventeen years are mainly political refugees, the large majority of whom came from the middle and upper-middle classes in Cuba. Many were doctors, lawyers, teachers, and businessmen. In spite of their social and economic positions, they usually arrived without funds because all of their money and property had been confiscated. Although they faced the same language barrier that other Hispanic immigrants faced, they were, in general, because of their education and training, much better equipped to assume a different position in American life than other Hispanics.

TABLE 1

Comparison Between Immigration to the United States from Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Countries in the Year Ending 30 June 1970

Partial selection: includes only those non-Hispanic countries whose immigration totals exceeded 3,000.

Country	*Number of Immigrants*	*Rank*	*Country*	*Number of Immigrants*	*Rank*
Mexico	44,469	1	Yugoslavia	8,575	16
Philippines	31,203	2	Colombia	6,724	17
Italy	24,973	3	Egypt	4,937	18
Greece	16,464	4	Czechoslovakia	4,520	19
Cuba	16,334	5	Japan	4,485	20
Jamaica	15,033	6	Ecuador	4,410	21
United Kingdom	14,158	7	Spain	4,139	22
China (includes Taiwan)	14,093	8	Hong Kong	3,836	23
Canada	13,804	9	Poland	3,585	23
Portugal	13,195	10	Argentina	3,443	25
Dominican Republic	10,807	11			
India	10,114	12	Immigration totals for the remaining Hispanic countries in order of rank:		
Germany	9,684	13			
Korea	9,314	14	Peru	909	
Hispanic Central America, includes:	8,847	15	Chile	832	
			Uruguay	800	
Costa Rica 1,456			Venezuela	548	
El Salvador 1,698			Bolivia	428	
Guatemala 2,130					
Honduras 1,263					
Nicaragua 670					
Panama 1,630					

PUERTO RICANS

Before 1898, most Puerto Ricans coming to the mainland were political exiles or those seeking higher educational opportunities. They were some of the island's intellectuals and better educated citizens, generally from a higher socioeconomic level than most of those presently coming from Puerto Rico.

Migration Patterns. Major migration to the mainland began in 1898 with the annexation of the island by the United States and the removal of travel restrictions. It continued steadily, with lows during the 1930's and World War II, because of the fear of enemy ships in the Caribbean. After the war the number of Puerto Ricans coming to the mainland rose dramatically, especially following the Korean War when employment opportunities were high on the mainland.

Statistics compiled by the Puerto Rican Migration Office show shifts in migration patterns. When unemployment on the island is high, migration to the mainland is high; when unemployment on the island decreases or unemployment on the mainland increases, there is a rise in return migration to the island.

Comparing the size of the migration to the total population of the island, it is estimated that one of three Puerto Ricans on the island migrates to the mainland. This does not take into account those who come, stay awhile, and then return to the island.

It is estimated that there are more Puerto Ricans in New York City than in the San Juan metropolitan area. Almost 61% of the Puerto Ricans living on the mainland are residents of New York City. The others live mainly in the cities of the Northeast. Some move to smaller communities to join other Puerto Ricans who have succeeded in establishing themselves. Many never leave the port of entry (usually New York City), and many return to the island, sometimes going back and forth several times during their lifetime.

According to figures submitted by the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, there were more than 250,000 Puerto Ricans living in New England in 1970. The largest concentrations were in Connecticut and Massachusetts. In the Philadelphia area, where the influx of Puerto Ricans has taken place only during the past twenty years, there are now approximately 70,000. In addition, there are large concentrations of Puerto Ricans in the New Jersey cities of Newark, Paterson, Camden, Atlantic City, and Vineland. Although there are more than 75,000 Hispanics in the Washington, D.C., area, the overwhelming majority is not Puerto Ricans.

Factors Affecting Migration. Unlike the Cuban who came to the United States as a political refugee, the Puerto Rican usually migrated because of economic reasons. Unemployment and overpopulation on the island were factors that spurred the poorer Puerto Rican to leave. In addition, one has to remember that airfares via non-scheduled charters from San Juan to Newark, New York, Hartford, Boston, and other eastern cities are relatively inexpensive. One can also travel at a reduced rate on the night flights which are in operation on an almost daily basis to all of these cities.

The Puerto Rican migration of the last fifteen years is not a middle-class migration. The middle class tends to remain on the island. It is mostly the poorer, less educated Puerto Rican who comes to escape his position on the island. One must remember that unemployment among the lower classes is usually twice that of the mainland, and wages are only one-quarter of comparable income. Moreover, many factories and farms recruit Puerto Ricans to work in the Northeast.

Other factors which affect the migration of Puerto Ricans and which make the situation very different from that faced by other Hispanics are often overlooked. Puerto Ricans are United States citizens, and, thus, face no restrictions on entering the mainland. They are also accustomed to many features of the culture, e.g., the monetary system, laws, weights and measures, etc. They may also retain ties, bonds, and relationships to the island, their homeland, with relative ease and may travel back and forth without hindrance.

The fact that the Puerto Rican is a United States citizen makes him very different from the immigrant who comes from other parts of the world. Most foreign immigrants are required to have a profession or employable skill; Puerto Ricans are not. This alone establishes a socioeconomic difference between the two.

In most cases, the migration to the mainland involves two or more stages. Many Puerto Ricans currently living in the Northeast are of rural origin and moved to the San Juan urban area during their younger years or for a short period before deciding to leave the island. In addition, once on the mainland, they often live briefly with friends or relatives in one city before moving permanently to another community.

Finally, unlike immigrants to the United States, a great number of Puerto Ricans come to the mainland with the idea of making money and then returning. Their cultural ties with the island remain strong. Even if they spend their working years living on the mainland, they are likely to return to the island for their retirement years. There are no available figures which indicate what percentage goes back to the island, but Oscar Lewis, in 1968, estimated that as few as one-fourth planned to remain on the mainland permanently.[43]

OTHER HISPANICS

As the table of immigration figures for 1970 indicates,[44] there are significant numbers of immigrants from Mexico and from Central and South America. Although most of the Mexicans have settled in the Southwest, some have since migrated to the Northeast, principally to the Washington, D.C., area. Their numbers are relatively small, however. In Washington, D.C., one also finds a significant number of immigrants from Ecuador and Guatemala.

In the Northeast there are South American immigrants who have come for religious reasons. They have been converted to Protestant faiths or to fundamentalist sects, such as the Seventh-day Adventists, and want their children to attend schools sponsored by these religious groups. In Washington, D.C., there is one well attended church of the Seventh-day Adventists where the traditional hymns have been translated into Spanish.

Many people from the Dominican Republic immigrated to the New York area, where they were given assurances of employment, mainly in restaurants or as domestics. Employment agencies existed which specialized in placing people from the Dominican Republic and Haiti. There are presently more Dominicans in New York City than in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic.

More recently, an influx of refugees from Chile, Argentina, and other South American countries has arrived, principally in New York City but also in Washington, D.C. Many of these immigrants are now teaching at universities in the Northeast.

Figures taken from the 1970 census seem to indicate that there continues to be immigration from Europe, although the days of the great migrations from Europe appear to be over. The same conclusion cannot be drawn about the immigration

43. Oscar Lewis, *A Study of Slum Culture: Backgrounds for* La Vida (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 205.

44. Refer to p. 49.

patterns from Hispanic America. As the percentage of Hispanics in the Northeast grows, their influence will be increasingly important, both in their contributions to our culture and in the challenges which they present, especially in the large cities of the Northeast.[45]

45. See "Horizons" for a discussion of directions in bilingual education, the role of Spanish in everyday life, and the emerging political force of Hispanics.

Cultural Pluralism

Introduction

In the past, the vast majority of immigrants came in groups rather than as individuals. Each group, usually eager to preserve its uniqueness, created a subculture within the established American society. Because of geographic proximity, it was possible for an ethnic group to found within its 'neighborhood' its own church, schools (often church-related and with instruction in the mother tongue), newspapers, radio stations, social and political clubs, labor unions, and benevolent societies. Most of these organizations did not exist in the immigrant's homeland, and therefore emulated American models. The immigrant was, in fact, in establishing these institutions, taking the first step in the process of assimilation.

A second step often took place among the immigrant's children; this second generation joined the clubs and institutions already established within American society. A logical extension would be intermarriage on a large scale. This often meant the end of religious ties and the abandonment of participation in the life of the group as complete amalgamation took place.[1] This process describes in brief the 'adaptation to the core society and culture' theory and the 'melting pot' theory of assimilation.[2]

1. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 70ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

To many observers, the existence of the deep ethnic pride of the 'new' Americans now plays a relatively significant role in shaping our current society. These groups have been able to maintain separate, distinctive traditions within America that are still identifiable. Despite the dominant tradition established early by Anglo-Americans and Northern Europeans, these 'new' immigrants are challenging the use of English to the total exclusion of other languages. There are demands for modification of some of the established political, legal, and cultural institutions. Ethnic groups also frequently constitute social action groups, people banded together to fight for causes of the group, be it abolition of discrimination in housing and jobs, or better schools.

This culturally pluralistic view of American society is perhaps today far more valid than the 'melting pot' and Anglo-conformity theories. Race and religion particularly are two elements which determine to which group a person belongs. If America had really 'melted,' these would be unimportant factors in American life. However, they are extremely vital in the political, economic, and social life of many. Despite the passage of time and the recognition that some newer Americans will indeed 'melt' into the dominant culture of American society, we must recognize those individuals and groups who remain closely tied to their roots. We must also recognize that pride in the newcomer's ethnicity expands to a recognition of his unique contributions to his immediate community and to the total of American society.

The French-Speaking

One of the obvious features of cultural pluralism in the United States is the diversity of its population as reflected in census reports. That diversity may be measured by country of origin, racial characteristics, religious affiliations, languages spoken, or surnames. While no individual statistic gives a complete description of a single group, it does provide information for the study of some characteristics of that group.

Table 1 illustrates the number of French-mother-tongue speakers in selected states in 1970. The figures do not, however, distinguish between subgroups or tell us anything about non-French-speaking persons who belong to the same cultural population. This disparity is striking if the above figures are compared to the 1973 U.S. Bureau of the Census report of 5.5 million Americans of French descent.

Americans of French descent, like Americans of other ethnic groups, have contributed to America's pluralism by virtue of their geographical environment and cultural experiences in the American experiment. Thus, French Huguenots settling in Maryland and French Catholics settling in Acadia are identified as different from the English colonists of Jamestown and the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Geographic origin and native language are the distinguishing features which differ-

TABLE 1

Percent French Mother Tongue Population for Selected States: 1970 U.S. Census

Area	*Total Population*	*Fr. Mo. Tongue*	*% Fr. Mo. Tongue*
Maine	993,663	141,489	14.2
New Hampshire	737,681	112,278	15.2
Vermont	444,330	42,193	9.5
Massachusetts	5,688,903	367,194	6.4
Rhode Island	948,844	101,270	10.7
Connecticut	3,031,705	142,118	4.7
Louisiana	3,640,442	572,262	15.4
New York	18,236,882	208,801	1.1
New Jersey	7,168,143	44,445	.6
Pennsylvania	11,793,864	33,723	.3
Maryland	3,922,291	22,072	.6
Virginia	4,648,478	22,693	.5
California	19,957,304	200,784	1.0
United States	203,210,158	2,598,408	1.3

entiate the two clusters. However, in the context of religious belief, the groups are fragmented into four subcultural entities: Huguenot, Catholic, Puritan, and Church of England.

If need for harmonious co-existence increases similarities between groups and sub-groups, it also erodes differences. The changes are accelerated by such conditions as time, proximity, similarity of perceptions, and mutual trust. Exiled, persecuted by his countrymen, isolated by Colonial experiences, and outnumbered by English settlers, the French Huguenot, for instance, soon opted to speak English. On the other hand, in spite of their proximity to British subjects and at the same period of time, the Acadians managed to maintain their French language and customs. Their proximity to the French-speakers of Quebec, their emigration by choice, and their vocational interest in farming were the major factors slowing assimilation.

Some aspects of cultural pluralism cannot be quantified or distinguished according to linguistic or religious differences. The Haitian independence experiment, for example, has brought out the best and the worst with regard to racial equality.

Haiti was once the richest colonial territory in North America. Its Blacks have known abject poverty and personal humiliation since 1804. This situation has been fostered by a segmented society marked by the contrasting life styles of an elite class and peasant masses.

Despite a policy of conciliation and respect for the rights of smaller nations during the American occupation of Haiti (1915-34), American racial and cultural antagonisms rendered these sentiments irrelevant. Racist stereotypes, a belief in Haitian inferiority, the use of 'force-labor corvée,'[3] and a materialistic orienta-

3. The 'force-labor corvée' referred to mandatory labor (construction or farming) done by non-volunteer recruits for little pay.

tion, were the realities. In his study of this period, Hans Schmidt summarized the American-Haitian relationship:

> In sum, the occupation of Haiti was both a logical extension of America's quest for empire and a clear example of many of the contradictions involved in that quest for empire. These contradictions were by no means successfully resolved in Haiti—indeed, the conflicts between American racism and rational progressivism, between democratic egalitarianism and military conquest, and between missionary zeal and economic exploitation were, in some ways, exacerbated.[4]

This cultural background to the recent Haitian immigration to New York and Boston since 1959 is in marked contrast with that of the French immigrants from France. By 1880 the French Huguenots were considered old-stock Americans. Many French soldiers also settled in the colonies after the American Revolution, bringing their diverse ideologies, style of architecture, writers, lawyers, teachers, and laborers.

Reading the ads in *Burley's U.S. Centennial Gazetteer and Guide*,[5] for instance, one finds French-American bakers, silversmiths, printers, and storeowners in Philadelphia. The achievements of Peter Faneuil in philanthropy, John James Audubon in art, Pierre Etienne Duponceau in law, Pierre Samuel Dupont in politics, and René Jules Dubas in medicine, reflect the plurality of cultural values and contributions which became our heritage.

Because the French-speaking Acadian and Canadian migrants have attracted relatively little notice, two case studies of their separate evolution are presented. The first explores the Acadians' frustrations in trying to establish a permanent settlement in the Northeast; the second describes life in *Petits Canada*.

ACADIANS: A STRUGGLE FOR LAND

For generations, wherever he lived, the Acadian has been considered a squatter. Throughout the entire Acadian experience, from the original settlement in North America in 1604 to the defining of the international boundary between Maine and New Brunswick in 1842, the influence of institutions on the Acadian was at best sporadic.

The Catholic church, the most important influence on the French, experienced extended periods when it could provide neither missionaries nor direct impact on the isolated, pioneer, woodland settler. Especially in the years from 1713 to 1785, the number of French missionaries allowed into Nova Scotia was determined by British secular agencies.

At other times, the role of the British government could be ignored; the isolation of the settlers provided a buffer from direct government. Between 1755 and 1817 there were virtually no schools in the areas of Acadian settlement. Thus, in-

4. *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934* (Rahway, N.J.: Quinn & Boden, 1971).
5. Charles H. Kidder, ed. (Philadelphia: S.W. Burley, 1876).

stitutionalization of the Acadian was remote and unknown. The family proved to be the unceasing support of Acadian struggles.

In 1785, because of Loyalists claims to their land, forty Acadian families migrated from Fredericton, New Brunswick, to the Madawaska Territory under the leadership of Joseph Daigle. It would be nearly one hundred years before any formal institutionalization of the people would occur in the new settlement. The United States and Britain would have to finalize the boundary settlement between New Brunswick and Maine, and individual land ownership would have to be regulated. Even the vested interests of lumber barons and railroad owners would take precedence over the minimal educational and economic needs of the newcomers. From pawns of rival colonial powers, the Acadians had become pawns of two neighboring governments.

Boundary Dispute. St. Basile, where Joseph Daigle and other Acadians settled, was located in the Madawaska Territory. The region, through which the St. John River flows, was in the middle of a larger territory extending from the Quebec border to Moncton, New Brunswick, and to Houlton, Maine. Because of ambiguities in the Versailles Treaty of 1783, both Great Britain and the United States were able to claim the territory.

The Acadians received their land concessions from the British in the central part of the disputed region in 1790. But for fifty-two years, while London and Washington, D.C., exercised their individual authority, and Augusta, Maine, and Fredericton, New Brunswick, extended their spheres of influence toward the unsettled border, the neutral Acadian remained uncertain of his citizenship and the legality of his land claim.

Thomas Albert, in his *Histoire du Madawaska*,[6] has written of the main incidents of the dispute, including an unsuccessful boundary arbitration by King William of the Netherlands, unusual legislation passed to incorporate a part of the Madawaska Territory into the State of Maine, the Bloodless Aroostook War, and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 which brought the issue to a close.

The results of the dispute for close to 2,000 Acadians were a change in citizenship from British to American, the regulation of their land claim, and the organization of a local government.

The Lumber Barons. Another source of uneasiness for the Acadians in their quest for permanent land was the British and American lumbering interests during the period of the boundary dispute. One historian described the situation in this fashion:

> Some claim that thirst for gold—*Auri sacra fames*—and covetousness of the wealth of the Yukon has been the cause of the disputes between England and the United States concerning the frontiers of Alaska. We could say as much of the question of the frontiers

6. (Quebec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1920), p. 85.

between New Brunswick and the State of Maine, with the difference that the dispute was not about ore but about the extensive and rich forests of pines of the valley of the St. John River and its upper tributaries.

Profiting by the absence of jurisdiction in the ligitious territory, speculators from everywhere and of all stamps invaded this extensive domain of forests. They indulged in a real destruction of these giant pines which they then floated to the sawmills of the maritime yards.

The province of New Brunswick, which had colonized a part of this domain after the War of Independence, soon perceived that the young State of Maine claimed absolute right to the territory and especially the exclusive right to the felling of trees.[7]

By 1831, the State of Maine, eager to press its claim on the Madawaska Territory, secured the passage of law incorporating this region into a township larger than all of Rhode Island. The legislation was largely supported by 'lumber barons,' who were more interested in the revenue from the timberlands than in the welfare of the Acadian inhabitants.

For nearly three years (1839-42), the issue brought the rival governments to the brink of war. Both sides built defenses, such as the blockhouse in Fort Kent, Maine, in preparation for a confrontation. The Acadians' historical position of neutrality was tested as factions formed on both sides of the St. John River. Political negotiations between Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, rather than guns, settled the dispute. The ambiguities of borders, brought about by ambitious lumbering interests, were resolved more than fifty years after the American Revolution had been won. For two generations, the land claims of the Acadians had jeopardized their peaceful existence.

The Railroad Companies. The first matter that needed regulation after the signing of the boundary treaty was that of land ownership. The states of Maine and Massachusetts sent commissions to grant land titles to holders and claimants. The land registrars were followed by James C. Madigan, whose task was also to advise the local populace on the organization of local governments.

Ironically, the last major threat to Acadian land rights occurred a hundred years ago, when the country was in the process of celebrating its Centennial. In the 1840's and 50's it had been the practice that, if a man moved into an unsettled part of the state, stating his claim and meeting certain settlement requirements, e.g., donating his labor in constructing roads on his land, he would be granted the lot he had chosen. Unfortunately for some illiterate and unschooled Acadians, not all deeds and papers were duly processed.

During the course of the Civil War, priorities changed. The northern timberlands became a source of revenue to underwrite the growth of the railroad industry. This war raised questions of frontier defenses; it was decided that rail lines extended to the far reaches of Maine would be the most effective means of defending the state's border. Troops could be moved by rail to any part of the state which needed them if railroads could reach all areas.

7. *Ibid.*

Accordingly, over three million acres of heavily timbered land were granted by the state to any railroad corporation willing to extend its line to the frontier. Unfortunately for some Acadians, part of the land conceded by the state included the farms they had settled. The matter was brought to a head in 1878, when the failing railroad corporations faced an economic slump. The railroad directors decided to sell some of their land holdings, and the Acadians were once again in danger of eviction.

Cyrus Dickey, a lawyer from Fort Kent, Maine, and agent of the European and North American Railroad Company, entered the homes of 120 families in Frenchville and Madawaska, Maine, to inform them that they had to leave their homes since they did not own them. However, in 1878 the Acadians finally had the law on their side.

The legislature was initially approached to provide the Acadians with compensation for their land, but the governor vetoed the measure. The courts, however, in case after case during the next ten years, ruled against the governor and vested interests. The Acadians remained on their lands.

Institutionalization. In 1878, a teacher training school was organized to prepare teachers to work in this French region of Maine. By this time, the Acadians had experienced life on American terms.

Today there are over 100,000 Acadians in the Northeast. Their occupations range from potato farming in northern Maine and machinists jobs in Connecticut plants to law and medical practices in urban and rural centers.

FRANCO-AMERICANS: LITTLE CANADAS

The early Franco-American workers lived in company houses near the mills. They were devout Catholics and requested priests from Canada. Franco-American churches, schools, and organizations were established. Small shops and stores, bureaus and offices maintained by credit unions, dentists, funeral directors, insurance agents, lawyers, newspapers, and physicians were all located in the same neighborhood, which became a self-sufficient *Petit Canada*.

Franco-American life was usually not austere. On Sundays, visits to friends and relatives, and family outings were frequent. The memory of the rural past was kept alive; customs and traditions were perpetuated. The railroad and, later, the automobile, afforded cheap, efficient transportation, and trips home to Canada were an annual affair. Church services and parish activities occupied much time; social clubs provided a friendly atmosphere for many. Although some mills sponsored educational and recreational activities, Franco-Americans looked upon such pursuits with suspicion and preferred to keep to themselves.

Each Franco-American community had its own parish organizations, mutual benefit societies, political and social clubs. Dozens of French-language newspapers made their appearance. The 24th of June, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the French-Canadian holiday, was widely celebrated in New England. The theme running through all activities was group pride and solidarity.

The borders of the region known as *Franco-Américanie* extend beyond New England, and several communities in upper New York State must be included. However, only limited areas west of the Hudson River are involved. The vast majority of Franco-Americans is concentrated in medium-sized cities and small towns.[8]

TABLE 2

Franco-American Concentrations in New England

Area	*Cities and Towns*
Berkshire County, Massachusetts	Adams, North Adams, and Pittsfield
The Blackstone Valley	Fitchburg, Gardner, Leominster, Marlborough, Spencer, and Worcester, Mass.; Central Falls, Pawtucket, Providence, Warren, West Warwick, and Woonsocket, R.I.
The Boston Area	Cambridge, Lynn, and Salem, Mass.
Central Massachusetts	Chicopee, Holyoke, Northampton, Palmer, Springfield, and Ware
Central New Hampshire	Berlin
Central Southwestern Connecticut	Hartford and Waterbury
The Merrimack Valley	Haverhill, Lawrence, and Lowell, Mass.; Manchester and Nashua, N.H.
The Quinebaug Valley	Danielson, Jewitt City, Plainfield, Putnam, Taftville, and Willimantic, Conn.; Southbridge and Webster, Mass.
Southwestern Maine	Biddeford-Saco, Brunswick, Lewiston-Auburn, Old Town, and Waterville; Somersworth, N.H.
Southwestern Massachusetts	Brockton, Fall River, New Bedford, and Taunton
Western Vermont	Burlington, St. Albans, and Winooski

Development of Franco-American Parishes. The earliest Franco-Americans worshipped in private homes or rented halls. The first churches were simple structures made of wood. Occasionally, a Protestant church was purchased and adapted to Catholic use.

The dates parishes were founded are reliable guides to the growth of the Franco-American population. The first parishes were created at Burlington, Vermont (1850), Glens Falls and Plattsburgh, New York (1853), Swanton and St. Johnsbury, Vermont (1858). The greatest expansion occurred in the next four decades. St. Anne's in Fall River, Massachusetts, Saints Peter and Paul in Lewiston, Maine, and the churches of Notre Dame in Fall River, Southbridge, and Worcester, Massachusetts, are among the most impressive brick and stone structures erected by the Franco-Americans.

8. Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis," Diss. Wisconsin 1968, p. 291, Figure 27.

Cities and nearby localities with several parishes became Franco-American strongholds. Franco-Americans played a major role in the foundation of over three hundred parishes in the Northeast; about half this number were national parishes.[9]

At first, certain bishops could or would not accede to the wishes of Franco-Americans to form such separate parishes. In 1885, the parishioners of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes in Fall River, Massachusetts, thwarted the bishop's plans to install an Irish pastor. However, in the next decade, major confrontations at Danielson, Connecticut, and North Brookfield, Massachusetts, did not lead to the founding of French national parishes and, in the latter case, resulted in several excommunications. During the years immediately preceding World War I, management and ownership of parish property were at stake in the Corporation Sole controversy.[10] Franco-Americans insisted on exercising absolute control over the churches and schools they had built. A compromise of sorts was eventually worked out, but the bishop's rights were reaffirmed.

The Parochial Schools. Few of the early Franco-Americans arriving in the Northeast had attended school for more than a few years. Enjoined by Rome (1875) and Baltimore (1884)[11] to found parochial schools and acting from the conviction that the new environment constituted a serious threat to faith and morals, Franco-American pastors immediately set about building parochial schools.

At first, lay teachers set up temporary instructional programs in private homes and parish halls.[12] However, teaching orders of nuns and brothers soon founded permanent schools. French-Canadian nuns opened schools in Rutland, Vermont, and Oswego, New York, as early as 1866. The Sisters of Jesus-Mary located in Fall River in 1877 and in Manchester shortly thereafter. The following year, Grey Nuns established the first Franco-American parochial school in Maine.

The subjects taught in the parochial schools corresponded to those taught in the public schools. French, however, was the language of instruction for half the day. It was soon evident that French had to be reinforced in the school if it was to be maintained: "*Que sont devenus les Franco-Américains qui ont abandonné leur langue et changé leurs noms?*" queried a widely-used handbook. "*La plupart sont tombés dans l'insignifiance,*" was the reply.[13]

9. A church community composed exclusively of members of one ethnic group is called a national parish; an ethnically diverse church community is referred to as a 'territorial parish.'

10. Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal: L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, 1958), pp. 238-40, 254-55, 268-69.

11. On the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in Rome and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, see the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume 5 (1967), 140.

12. Madame Salvail maintained such a school at Fall River in 1869; the Misses Dion, Rhéaume, and Thivierge at Biddeford in the early 1880's; and Miss Daignault and several assistants at Brunswick in 1887.

13. "What has become of Franco-Americans who have abandoned their language and changed their names?" "Most have never amounted to much." Josaphat Benoit, *Catéchisme d'Histoire Franco-Américaine* (Manchester, N.H.: Société Historique Franco-Américaine, 1939), p. 42.

Since it was believed that French was the guardian of faith, the mother tongue assumed a mystical aura. Religious instruction stressed ethical rules of individual and group behavior. The French Regime in Canadian history (1608-1760) was believed to offer outstanding examples of individual and group courage and of the messianic role of the French in America. Thus, tales of Champlain, Dollard des Ormeaux, Madeleine de Verchères, and the Martyrs of North America, on the one hand, and religious instruction, on the other, were complementary.

The school became the center of parish life, imparting traditional values to children and exerting a profound influence on parents' attitudes and beliefs. Religious born in the United States played a key role in developing distinctive Franco-American cultural traits, a blend of the old and the new. At their peak in 1949, religious communities maintained 264 Franco-American schools staffed by 3,305 teachers and enrolled 88,097 students. This prodigious effort gave Franco-American culture its present-day form and substance.

New England French Speech. Canadian French differs from Standard French and also from New England French.[14] The most striking features of Canadian French are vowels differences, assibilation of the dentals *t* and *d*, and trilling of *r*. Speakers of Cultivated Canadian French, an accommodation to Standard French worked out during the nineteenth century in the *collèges classiques* and convent schools of Quebec, often eliminate assibilation and diphthongization. The speech of French Canadians who have had little language instruction or who show no concern for correct pronunciation, is considerably more at variance with Standard French. Increased cosmopolitanism in Quebec has resulted in heightened awareness of Standard French usage, and the gap between it and Cultivated Canadian French has narrowed somewhat.

Franco-American speech is essentially an extension of Canadian French. Religious teaching orders exerted a strong influence on the development of New England French. As a rule, language maintenance is high among persons born before World War II in close-knit Franco-American communities, low among school children today.

Living and Working Conditions. Until the depression, the textile mill was an important factor in Franco-American life. There was active recruitment in Canada by mill agents, but most immigrants came on their own, having first established contact with relatives or friends, who often lodged them until they found jobs and their own housing.

Textile mills were not as destructive of family solidarity and paternal authority as is sometimes believed, at least among Franco-Americans. The father generally determined who would work and controlled all earnings. Often, entire families were employed in the same factory. The mother guarded the unity of her family,

14. The most detailed analysis of Franco-American speech remains that of William N. Locke, *Pronunciation of the French Spoken at Brunswick, Maine*, Publications of the American Dialect Society Number 12 (Greensboro, N.C.: American Dialect Society, 1949).

keeping a close watch on her children, enforcing discipline, and setting bedtimes. The parish priest reinforced parental authority from the pulpit. Child labor was not uncommon, even after laws were passed banning the practice. Thrifty families accumulated savings toward the purchase of a farm when the family returned to Canada. As more and more French Canadians decided to become permanent residents of New England, this money made the transition to a better life possible. However, for many, such plans never materialized, and families were trapped in a slum.

Evolution of Living and Working Conditions. Immigration, which had led to the foundation of parish after parish in New England, tapered off. Henceforth, pastors would be less concerned with problems of growth than with changing values and intermarriage. Intensive campaigns on the part of local and national groups seeking to 'Americanize' immigrants were resisted by most ethnic organizations. In the 1880's, Franco-Americans had successfully staved off efforts to make public school attendance mandatory and to eliminate foreign languages as a medium of instruction. Further battles were fought in the years immediately following World War I. Officials in L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique played a major role in this struggle.

In 1924, a bitter campaign against diocesan fund raising erupted in the columns of the Woonsocket, Rhode Island, French-language weekly newspaper *La Sentinelle*. Parishioners in that state were the ones most affected, but many others throughout New England became involved. The Franco-American clergy split over this issue, and the group's two most influential fraternal societies openly warred against each other. The crisis came to a head when the Bishop of Providence banned the newspaper and excommunicated sixty-five Franco-American leaders who had opposed him. In less than a year, everyone concerned had been absolved, but the incident left a scar for many Franco-Americans. The inherent defect in the notion that faith and language are indivisible had been revealed. Most Franco-Americans concluded that a policy of no compromise in this regard tended to undermine church authority.

At the same time, working conditions in the textile mills began to undergo important changes. The approaching depression, the competition of southern factories, and other economic factors occasioned a sharp decline in textile production. Strikes and the depression reduced employment in the textile mills of the region, most of which eventually closed permanently. Seventeen of these mills employed 57.5 percent of the labor force. In 1933, more than 25 percent of Chicopee's population was on relief.[15]

From 1920 to 1930, for instance, 13.5 percent of Manchester's population migrated. However, textile workers were not strongly represented in this group, since employment opportunities were not significantly better in other New En-

15. Katherine Du Pré Lumpkin, *Shutdowns in the Connecticut Valley: A Study of Worker Displacement in the Small Industrial Community*, Smith College Studies in History Volume 19, Numbers 3-4 (Northampton, Mass.: 1934), 159, Table 5; 168, Table 11.

gland towns. Franco-American migration during the depression usually involved short-distance moves, since individuals were reluctant to settle in a community without compatriots. Thus, while some ethnic patterns tended to break up in the 1930's, this was not the case for most Franco-Americans.

Prior to World War I, the majority of Franco-Americans were classed by census-takers as 'semiskilled workers in manufacturing,' 'skilled workers and foremen,' 'factory and construction laborers,' and 'other laborers.' However, from the outset, many Franco-Americans, notably in northern Maine and Vermont, were engaged in farming, while others were professionals, owned and managed small businesses, worked as clerks, and salesmen, etc.

Like other immigrants and their children, a substantial number of French-Canadians were soon able to improve their position in American society. 'Getting ahead' meant greater security, higher status, and more satisfying work. Increased contact with other segments of American society, after moving to a new neighborhood or through education, gradually led most to adopt middle-class values. On the other hand, many regarded the emulation of such a life style as turning one's back on the group.

The German-Speaking

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin wrote with concern when the Germans established ethnic schools in Pennsylvania:

> Why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements and, by herding together, establish their language and manner to the exclusion of ours? They come in droves and carry all before them. Few of their children in the country learn English; they import many books from Germany; and of the six printing houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half-German, half English . . . The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages and in some places only German.[16]

However, Franklin's fears that the German immigrant groups would remain resistant to absorption into the culture of their new homeland were unfounded. The vast majority of these groups has been among the most rapidly acculturating of all immigrant populations. Similarly unfounded were his fears that the German immigrants represented a threat to the existing American culture.

16. Leonard Labarée, ed., *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Volume 4, July 1, 1750-June 30, 1753 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961), 234.

The discussion which follows presents some of the reasons why the German element in the United States retained its ethnicity only to a certain point in history and why today, despite the increased ethnic pride displayed by many other groups, the Germans have essentially disappeared.

ASSIMILATION OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The Religious Factor. The most powerful force in perpetuating German culture among immigrants and their offspring in the United States was the church. However, Lutheran communities, though numerous in colonial times, became assimilated during the period from 1776 to 1840 when they were not nourished by new immigration from Germany. German Lutheranism revived in the United States in 1838 when the German government ordered all Protestant denominations in Germany (mainly Lutherans and Reformed) into one state church. In Saxony one subdivision of Lutherans, calling themselves the *Alt-Lutheraner*, refused to merge and chose instead to go to the land of religious freedom, America. Traveling by ship from Bremerhaven to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi, these German Lutherans settled mainly in the area of St. Louis. Although they spread to most states of the Union, they have remained centered around St. Louis and are officially known as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

The German Language in the Church. A great deal has been written about the transition and retentiveness of the German language among the Missouri Synod Lutherans in America.[17] Like the German Lutherans, the German Catholics who immigrated in substantial numbers after 1840 insisted that separate churches where a German-language ministry was available were a necessity. Whenever possible, therefore, German Lutherans and German Catholics settled in colonies which occasionally came about by their own choice, but more often as a result of the direction furnished by a zealous German minister, priest, or missionary.[18]

Numerically strong though they were, the German Catholics were, nevertheless, a minority in three respects. As speakers of a foreign tongue, they were outsiders

17. See, for example, Frederick C. Luebke, "The Immigrant Condition as a Factor Contributing to the Conservatism of the Luthern Church—Missouri Synod," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 38 (1965), 19-28; John E. Hofman, "The Language Transition in Some Lutheran Denominations," in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1970); and P.T. Dietz, "The Transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod from 1910-1947," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 22 (1949), 97-171.

18. See, in general, LaVern J. Rippley, "The Forces of Religion," in *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976); Matthew A. Pekari, "The German Catholics and the United States of America," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, 36 (December 1925), 305-58; Emmet H. Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant in the U.S.A., 1830-1860* (Washington, D.C., Catholic University Press, 1946); Georg Timpe, ed., *Katholisches Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Freiburg: Herder, 1937); and Reinhard R. Doerries, "Americans of Irish and German Descent: A Comparative Approach to the Study of Acculturation," Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians, Boston, Massachusetts, April 1975.

within the larger Anglo-American tradition. As Catholics, they were outsiders among the much larger Protestant population. Within the Catholic Church itself, they were also a minority, because the basic traditions and hierarchical offices were determined by the immigrants from Ireland.

In religion, of course, the German Catholics identified with the Irish-Catholic church in America. In linguistic, liturgical, and everyday cultural patterns, however, the two nationality groups—Irish and German—differed markedly. As the *Pastoral-Blatt*, published in St. Louis for German priests, stated in 1888: "On the one hand we are told: You Catholics are not Germans. On the other hand we are told: You Germans are not Catholics. What we are, though, no one tells us."[19]

Intermarriage. Sociologists have shown, for instance, that immigrants often tended to marry within their own ethnic groups. Intermarriage is a starting point for the fusion of one ethnic group with another and for the assimilation of all nationalities postulated by the 'melting pot' theory.

The results of a study on this subject by Nelson and Johnson show that the German immigrants were no different from others.[20] They tended to marry within their own group, provided that the proportion of fellow nationals was over fifty percent of the total population in the immediate vicinity. Swiss, Luxemburgers, and Austrians often intermarried, though a Southern German Catholic seldom married a Northern German Protestant. Germans seldom married Irish, even though they enjoyed a commonality of religion. Intermarriage between the German-born and those from the Sudetenland was common. German Mennonites rarely married Catholic, Lutheran, or other non-Mennonite members, thereby preserving their culture and language the longest. Often, in both large and medium-sized towns in the Midwest, a neighborhood remained ethnic because of a Catholic or Lutheran church located there. Members of that neighborhood also did not speak of their homes as being in a named section of the city but as located within the parish boundaries.

The German Language in the Schools. Recognizing that the loss of ethnicity often meant the loss of faith, religious leaders initiated German-language schools as soon as work on the churches was completed. Their objective was to preserve cultural islands within the English cultural sea, even if the enclave no longer received significant numbers of new immigrants.

The thrust of parochial education in America came through the efforts of the

19. Quoted in Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), p. 8.

20. Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (March 1943), 585-92; and especially Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Intermarriages between German Pioneers and Other Nationalities in Minnesota in 1860 and 1870," *American Journal of Sociology*, 81 (January 1946), 299-304.

Catholic Church and, to a lesser extent, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.[21] Many of the Catholic parishes in eastern cities were polyglot institutions which included Germans, Irish, Bohemians, Poles, and native Anglo-Americans. In these, the English language was used in the church and in the school, and such schools had a minimal influence on maintaining the native tongue. It could be argued persuasively that the parochial school hastened rather than slowed the assimilative process in America.[22] Over the years a pattern developed in both the Missouri Synod Lutheran schools and the Catholic schools in which instruction in religion was provided in German while all other subjects were taught in English.

In states where the Germans had enough votes, they compelled legislatures to pass laws which permitted the teaching of basic subjects in the German language. Pennsylvania seems to have been the first in 1839.[23] By the turn of the twentieth century, however, most of these schools were witnessing changes in legislation, some of which demanded that subjects also be taught in English. Others permitted instruction in German (or another non-English language) only above a certain grade level. A few restricted German-language instruction to subjects such as music and art.

In time the notion of German-language public schools came under criticism. Long before World War I, laws were passed that forbade everything German in American society. Additionally, assimilation led to the disappearance of interest in and support for German schools. The teaching of the German language waned during the early twentieth century. Its greatest promotion came from the churches and, to a lesser extent, from other German-American agencies. Among these were the German-language press, the National German-American Alliance, and the national *Deutschamerikanische Lehrer-Seminar* (a teachers college for the preparation of German-language instructors founded in Milwaukee in 1878). Most, including the churches, had a vested interest in perpetuating the use of German in American society.

The Ban on German-Language Instruction. Not until World War I, however, did the ban on German-language instruction gain popular support.[24] Immediately after American involvement in the war, bills were introduced in one state legislature after another to outlaw the practice, not only of teaching in German

21. Walter H. Beck, *Lutheran Elementary School in the United States* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939). See also Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of American Catholics* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966); and Frederick C. Luebke, "German Immigrants and Parochial Schools—A Look at Institutional Beginnings," *Issues in Christian Education*, 1 (Spring 1967), 11-18.

22. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 217-20.

23. Heinz Kloss, "Die deutschamerikanische Schule," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 7 (1962), 147ff. See also, in general, Glenn G. Gilbert, ed., *The German Language in America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971).

24. The best source for information about the German-American experience in World War I is Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).

but even of teaching German. These new laws were passed easily under the name of 'Americanization' or patriotism.[25] In a few states, German was prohibited by name, but more often the prohibition took a different form. For example, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota, and others provided that the English language had to be the exclusive medium of instruction in all schools—public, private, or parochial—and that all textbooks, unless the subject be a foreign language, had to be printed in English. Some states made it a legal requirement that all persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who could not speak, read, or write the English language with facility had to attend evening schools from four to eight hours weekly. Other states, such as Nebraska and Washington, disqualified aliens from being licensed or employed as teachers. Assimilation had always been a pattern in American history, but now it became the legislated objective for all.

A PARADOX

In spite of the turbulence experienced during World War I, the establishment and frequency of German-language schools, churches, and social organizations in the United States were examples of social freedoms in America. The existence of many foreign language institutions in the United States attests to the constitutional guarantees of the immigrant. Germans were Anglicized not because they were denied their linguistic rights, but because of social pressures.

Whether the German schools and churches in America ultimately retarded or hastened assimilation requires further investigation. On the surface, they retarded it. In a perceptive study, however, Heinz Kloss has outlined the factors that influenced language maintenance in the United States.[26] They are:

(1) Religio-societal insulation;
(2) Time of immigration—earlier than or simultaneous with the first Anglo-Americans;
(3) Affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools;
(4) Existence of language islands;
(5) Pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts; and
(6) Former use as the only official tongue during the pre-Anglo-American period.[27]

Clearly, the only effective factor in maintaining the German language is the religio-societal 'withdrawal from the world' of the Old Order Amish. Neither language nor nationality is long treasured for its own sake. German was maintained, therefore, by this group more out of protest against something close at hand (American secularism) than out of allegiance to a foreign nation or culture. For all other German groups, it can be said that German-language institutions, such as

25. "Recent Legislation Forbidding Teaching of Foreign Languages in Public Schools," *Minnesota Law Review*, 4 (May 1920), 449-51; and Harry Rider, "Americanization," *American Political Science Review*, 14 (February 1920), 110-15.

26. "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 206-52.

27. For example, French in Louisiana, Spanish in California, and Dutch in New Jersey.

the press, schools, book publishers, and even the Catholic and Lutheran churches, rather aided than hindered the immigrant from becoming assimilated and furnished a 'bilingual bridge' in the transition from one culture to another.

RETENTION OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES: THE OLD ORDER AMISH.

Introduction. In 1935 Nazi party leaders viewed the Pennsylvania Germans, who at that time numbered about 400,000, as representing the essence of 'Germanness.' Having rejected modern conveniences in favor of tradition, these American Germans were thought to be a living link with Germany's great past. According to Nazi theorists, the Amish and Mennonite brethren had remained unaffected by cultural amalgamation—proof that racial purity was possible in the Anglo-Saxon framework.[28] They had, however, misjudged the situation. It was the all-pervasive Mennonite religion rather than the German heritage that had preserved the ethnic identity of the Pennsylvania Germans. The Amish have maintained, with utmost tenacity, a distinct 'group' character over the past three centuries in a country which represented modernity and progress.

Characteristics of the Old Order Amish. The Old Order Amish, the most conservative religious group in the large Mennonite denomination, is perhaps the most persistent of all ethnic groups in the United States. When state and federal agencies clash with them occasionally over such matters as social security, acreage limitation, or compulsory education, local and national publicity focuses on the unique Amish culture. These people neither seek publicity nor want conflict with the law. However, as a society which tends to maintain the characteristics it manifested upon arrival, while the modern community surrounding it moves forward, the Amish will inevitably find conflict. An attempt to understand their position in this modern age is both necessary and rewarding. At the same time, it shows that the Amish are not standing completely still.

Their 'World.' The Old Order Amish differs from the rest of the Mennonites not by a conflict in confessional doctrines but by its definition of the 'world,' and adheres to the literal interpretation of the New Testament injunction of the separation of God's elect from the world.

> And God raised the Lord and will also raise us up by his power. Do you not know that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I therefore take the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute? Never! Do you not know that he who joins himself to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, "The two shall become one." But he who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him. Shun immorality.

28. Sander Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 72ff.

Every other sin which a man commits is outside the body; but the immoral man sins against his own body.[29]

The sixteenth-century Swiss Brethren, Anabaptist predecessors of both Amish and Mennonites, drafted this separation into their Confession of Faith in Schleitheim near Schaffhausen on the Rhine in 1527. This separation is valid today and was reaffirmed by the Mennonite General Conference in 1921.

The difference between the Old Order Amish and most Mennonites lies in the interpretation and degree of application of this Schleitheim article, since the Amish still interpret literally the doctrines and biblical passages accepted over 400 years ago. The many Amish idiosyncracies perceived today result from these articles of separation.

Separation from the world demands the avoidance of political, social, and religious contact with modern American society. Economic communication is the one exception—business with 'Yankees' is permitted. The separation extends further to dress, personal appearance, and the nonacceptance of many home and farm appliances. An Amishman, therefore, does not attend gatherings in town, places of amusement, movie houses, dance halls, taverns, or the county fair. He may take his family to see a city, a railroad or bus station, to visit a zoo, or to shop for hardware or at a drugstore. He does not vote, as a rule, in county, state, or national elections; he may be persuaded to vote on school and county bond issues which concern his locality. He visits no relatives in the city and does not attend city churches. He takes no oaths nor will he defend himself or his country.

His house, his yard, and his fence are always in good order. His home, which is customarily unlocked, has no photographs, mirrors, pictures, wallpaper, lace curtains, or upholstered furniture. The rooms are one color, and the floors are covered with linoleum or left bare. The kitchen has no modern devices, but it is a model of cleanliness and order. The farm is worked with horse-drawn equipment and human power.

An Amishman rarely ventures into a locality not settled by Amish people. Several go together to found a colony, when they are in need of more farm land. Three young families in one Amish district entered the outside world a few years ago, but retreated to the safe, rural environment of their Amish district and were welcomed back as lost sheep. Then, too, there is the threat of severance and isolation of the *Meidung* (the ban or shunning)—of being set apart or ousted from all contact, along with the loss of community help on the farm. These penalties serve as effective means to keep the district united and the individual safe from deserting the principles of his faith.

Because of the self-sufficiency and solidarity of the Old Order Amish, no member of a congregation has ever needed the care of a local, state, or national relief agency. Orphans are cared for by the community, and the old stay where they have always been. If they can no longer work, their presence brings inspiration and comfort to younger members of the family. Criminal charges against a mem-

29. II Corinthians 6.14-18.

ber of the sect are likewise unknown, and anyone showing tendencies of unlawful behavior is disciplined within the *Gemei* (community).

The German Language. Another practice preserved among the Amish today is the use of German, since using English symbolizes the outside world. With the loss of their mother tongue, they have lost their fathers' inheritance. As Protestant Christians and readers of the Word of God, the German Bible is still the *Volksbuch* in their homes. No congregational meeting begins or ends without singing hymns from the *Ausbund*, their German songbook dating from 1583, standardized in its present version by Christof Sauer in 1742 in Germantown. The Amish continue republishing the 1785 edition. The Old Order Amish is probably the only remaining German group in America that has continued to publish in their original tongue, including devotional literature such as Stark's *Handbüchlein* (Little Handbook) and Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* (Little Paradise Garden), both dating from the seventeenth century. Compulsory high school education requires more use of English by the young Amish. However, German has been added in almost every instance to keep the reading of the revered texts alive. This, of course, may make every adult Amish not only bilingual in Pennsylvania-Deitsch and English, but perhaps even trilingual, if fluency in High German is achieved.

Conflict with the Outside World. The more subtle implications of separation come with avoidance of organizations of every kind, including those associated with modern church life. Joseph W. Yoder, a former member of a Pennsylvania Amish community, states: "*Das alt Gebrauch* (the old custom) definitely prevents all progress in religious life—no Sunday school, no Bible class instruction; everything as it always was."[30]

Amish taboos also include civic organizations, political clubs, life and fire insurance companies, and membership or affiliation with United States government-sponsored agriculturai agencies. On a voluntary basis, the Amish have restricted certain crop acreages, but they do not accept government compensation for not planting. Some cases are known where social security benefits have likewise been refused. Since 1955 all farmers must pay social security taxes. Many Amish, however, failed to do so, because they were against insurance, and this tax seemed to them a form of life insurance. To them, life insurance is taking a gamble on human life, a gift of God, who in turn allows no gambling with His gifts. Meetings between federal revenue agents and Amish leaders have gradually brought about a quiet acceptance of the law.

When the Amish clash with public laws, it is the former who must revise their ways—despite their claim of religious sanction. Governmental directives, state and national, affect the most remote farmstead, and neither the strongest religious nor rural mores can withstand such controls. On the other hand, many of the inroads made by the outside world upon the Amish come not by conscious acceptance but by a slow, unconscious process of absorption. The Amish may not want to be of this world; nevertheless, they cannot retreat entirely.

30. *Amish Traditions* (Huntington, Pa.: Yoder Publishing, 1950), p. 56.

The Future. The Amish believe these restrictions and hardships in their earthly life are necessary to assure them access to eternal salvation. David A. Treyer, bishop for fifty-six years in an Ohio Amish district, expressed these thoughts when he stated that Christian churches had to be 'fenced in' (*umzäunt*) by rules (*Ordnung*), for without this spiritual 'fence' (*Zaun*) no community can long exist.[31]

The 'fence' concept of the Amish has double significance. The fence guards against intrusion from outside, but it also protects those within. The isolation from modern life seems possible only where the *Gemei* is kept intact and self-sufficient. Their strength is in the unity of the group, the uniformity of its customs and language, the sameness of their appearance. They endure because of their mutual goals, beliefs, and practices, rigidly followed by every member of the community. Amish communities are likely to survive only if future generations find satisfying lives in this separate world.

The Spanish-Speaking

CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISPANICS

It is difficult to generalize the cultural characteristics of all Hispanics who have immigrated to the United States or who have migrated to the mainland, because there are distinct differences among them depending on their country of origin. Moreover, as has been pointed out, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds also vary considerably.

Those Hispanics who have arrived from the Caribbean area bring with them a cultural mixture of Spanish, Indian, and black influences. The black influence came via the slaves which the Spaniards brought with them to their colonies in the New World. As the Spaniards had had long experience with dark-skinned people (mainly the Moors from North Africa) and had, in fact, frequently intermarried with Blacks, they did not experience the same feelings toward them which the Anglo-Saxons did.[32] These slaves had legal rights and protection, and in the colonies it was the practice of upper-class men to recognize the illegitimate children born to them by black women. These children were usually given their freedom at baptism. The Indian influence is strong mainly in Central and South

31. *Hinterlassene Schriften von David Treyer von Holmes County, Ohio*, 2nd ed. (Arthur, Ill.: 1925), p. 65.

32. Spaniards coming to the New World maintained this tradition of interracial marriage. In Puerto Rico, for instance, records show that fewer than one hundred Spaniards were married to Spanish women; the remainder (about 550) lived with Indian or black women.

America. It, too, did not disappear, because the Spanish frequently married the Indians and preserved both cultures.

As it is difficult to generalize about Hispanic culture because of its diversity, it is also difficult to generalize about those who came to the United States mainland. They came from too many different socioeconomic levels and with too widely varying degrees of educational experience. Also, those who arrived from urban areas differed greatly in cultural background from those who had lived in rural areas.

The Hispanics have not been assimilated: they are, in fact, just beginning to acculturate. Moreover, the forces which hastened the assimilation of other immigrant groups have changed, and it is no longer necessary to assimilate to survive and to prosper in the United States. Even the necessity to learn English has lessened considerably. Therefore, we may find that the Hispanics probably will not be assimilated as some other large groups of immigrants were before them.

In order to gain a better understanding of the life of the Hispanics, we might examine some of their characteristics and values, particularly the Puerto Ricans since they represent the largest group of Hispanics in the Northeast. *It should be carefully noted that not all of these characteristics and values apply to all Hispanics, and one must understand also that the process of acculturation can change them considerably.*

One characteristic which one often finds in Puerto Ricans is fatalism—the belief that life is controlled by a supernatural force and that one should be resigned to misfortune and to rejoice when good fortune comes. This attitude has been reinforced by the church, be it the Catholic or any other church. Since the Puerto Rican tends to be religious (a trait which was handed down from his Spanish heritage), it is easy to accept and adopt the attitude of *Sea por Dios; será lo que Dios quiera.* (I accept the will of God). For the poor man this serves as a balm against his frustration; for the rich, it quiets his conscience about the realities of poverty around him.

Two other traits which are common among Puerto Ricans are respect and *personalismo.* Respect or *Dignidad* (Dignity): any man, despite his position in life, regardless of how poor or rich he may be, is worthy of respect. Any lack of respect violates his dignity. To complain and talk about one's poverty and problems is undignified. *Personalismo*: a belief that person-to-person relationships are preferable to an impersonal contact. In general, the Puerto Rican prefers a face-to-face meeting to a telephone call. This, they say, gives a feeling of warmth. Many Puerto Ricans agree that North Americans or Anglos have a 'colder' personality or that they are too 'mechanical.'

No other traditional characteristic among Hispanics has been more widely discussed and treated than *machismo,* a trait which assumes that the male is superior to the female, not only in physical courage and sexually, but in all other respects. It also implies a protective attitude toward women. However, this attitude is changing to some degree today.

A more linguistic characteristic is the *Ay bendito;* a Puerto Rican uses this expression when reacting to a sentimental or sad story. It appears that only Puerto Ricans (among the Hispanics) use this expression in this manner. Literal-

ly, the entire phrase, '*Ay bendito sea Dios,*' means "Blessed be the Lord," but its meaning goes further. The *Ay bendito* is an expression to which no Puerto Rican is immune; the mother may feel moved to comply with the teenager's plea; the teacher may feel, "*Ay bendito,* he almost had a D; I'll pass him." This does not mean that everyone is 'soft-hearted' all the time; however, the sentimentalism that the *Ay bendito* conveys assuages much personal conflict and makes possible many small favors.

The Hispanic concepts of hospitality and the extended family are difficult for many non-Hispanics to understand, yet they are fundamental life styles. Expressions such as, *Esta es su casa* (This is your house) or *a la orden* (at your service) are common greetings. When a visitor comes to the house or when a person gives his address, for example, he says, "I live at 283 America Street, at your service."

Elena Padilla, in her book *Up From Puerto Rico,* studies the life of a Puerto Rican family as it adapts to its new surroundings in New York City. In her chapter entitled "Family and Kinship" she states:

> The ideal Hispano family consists of a father, a mother, and their unmarried children, who all live together in the same household. This is the basic unit, the immediate or nuclear family. The father is supposed to impart respect to the children and to provide for the family; the mother, to care for the children and her husband and to maintain the standards of respect and good behavior set up by the father. Ideally, their home will be near those of close relatives, members of the 'great family,' including uncles, aunts, sisters, married children, grandchildren, and so on, and they will get along well with each other. All these relatives are supposed to help one another and to share many common activities as members of the extended family.[33]

The idea of the extended family even includes friends or friends of friends who are recent arrivals to the mainland.

Note also that Elena Padilla is careful to state that the ideal family consists of father, mother, and children. She does not say husband and wife, because in Puerto Rico man and woman living together in a consensual marriage is socially acceptable and is in no way considered sinful. This does *not* mean, however, that the Puerto Rican culture condones sexual promiscuity. It merely means that the respectability of a marital union does not need the official sanction of a religious or legal ceremony. Unfortunately, the concepts of hospitality, the extended family, and the consensual marriage have been misunderstood in the United States by many non-Hispanics.

Naturally, these are *general* characteristics or traits of *some* Hispanics. Others may share some of these traits and will have others which are unique to them. Even within a particular country there are many regional differences among the inhabitants and their customs.

Among Puerto Ricans now living on the mainland, the urban poor may regard the *jibaro* as the 'ignorant hillbilly,' and the person who has 'made it' or who has

33. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

always been well established may regard the *jíbaro* as the honest, sincere man—the man who is perhaps not educated but is certainly the son of Puerto Rico. The word *jíbaro*, years ago, meant a farmer living in the back country who almost never came to the city. He danced and sang medieval songs; he was a man of his word, of dignity, and of plainness. He dressed simply, and his religion was a mixture of Catholicism and superstition. The typical *jíbaro* is vanishing as his children migrate to the mainland or to the cities on the island.

There are some assumptions about Hispanics, especially Puerto Ricans, which are negative and unproven. For example, one popular assumption is that Hispanics are extremely clannish and prefer to associate only with other Hispanics. The language barrier makes it difficult for many Hispanics to interact with non-Spanish speakers. There are Hispanic families, just as there are families in other ethnic groups, who prefer to live near their relatives and friends. However, this is a dangerous assumption, the sort of reasoning on the part of majority groups which has traditionally led to the formation and growth of minority-group ghettos.

Another particularly damaging and erroneous assumption is that all Hispanics in the Northeast are interested only in menial work or in collecting welfare checks. It is true that unemployment among Hispanics, like that among other minority groups, is considerably higher than among white Americans. The following statement indicates but a few of the factors contributing to the employment situation among Hispanics, in this case, the Puerto Ricans:

> It is apparent that a major factor in the chronic and crippling job situation of the Puerto Rican is the inaccessibility of training because of his inability to speak and understand the English language . . . Blanket efforts in the field of manpower training without the benefit of the necessary experience in dealing with differential educational and work backgrounds, cultural biases towards authority, learning attitudes, and the entire pattern of adjustment to life in a different environment and in a metropolitan makeup are inevitably doomed to be counterproductive. In the case of the Spanish-speaking workers, a lack of control of the English language makes it much more difficult or impossible for them to assimilate training that provides skills needed in the performance of certain jobs . . . A factor that compounds the language problem is that a lack of control of basic English is very often interpreted as a mark of inferior intelligence. . . .[34]

Other assumptions about Hispanics generally emanate from a lack of understanding of some of the aspects of the Hispanic cultures which have been discussed.

PROBLEMS FACED BY HISPANICS ON THE MAINLAND

Once on the mainland, the new arrival is beset by problems never encountered in his land, problems such as racial discrimination, language barriers, strange food, cold weather, inadequate clothing, lack of housing, and, except for Puerto

34. "Proposal BOLT" (Hartford, Conn.: Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford; CEP Planning Services, January 1970).

Ricans, new laws and a new monetary system. For the non-professional, non-middle- or upper-class Hispanic, the patterns and problems are frequently the same. He usually comes alone, seeking a new life for himself and his family. While he is living with a friend or a relative, he struggles to find a job in order to provide for the family waiting to join him. He finds himself competing for the lowest-paying jobs because of his inability to communicate in English and his lack of job skills. He also finds himself competing for the poorest housing in the lowest-income areas of the city where rents are often higher than those in other neighborhoods.

Compounding the employment problems is the downward mobility for those Hispanics who were employed as professionals, businessmen, or in whitecollar positions in their home lands. One example is the Cuban who was a doctor, lawyer, judge, or teacher before fleeing to the United States. Here his skills are often not transferable because of differences in language, culture, and laws. The only solution is retraining and re-education. This problem is not one faced exclusively by Hispanics, but rather by many immigrants to the United States.

Recent arrivals usually react to their uprooting in one of three ways:

(1) They may try to escape from their ethnic immigrant group and make an effort to become as much like the established community as possible. These people seek to disassociate themselves from their past. Having abandoned the way of life of their own people in which they had a sense of who they were, there is no assurance that they will be accepted by the larger community. They are in great danger of becoming marginal (belonging to no reference group). In this stage the danger of personal frustration is acute.

(2) They may withdraw into the old culture, a resistance to the new way of life, and seek to retain the older identities by locking themselves into the old way of life.

(3) They may make an effort to build a bridge between the culture of the migrants and that of the larger society. These are the people who have confidence and security in their own way of life, but realize that it cannot continue. Therefore, they seek to establish themselves in the new society but continue to identify themselves with their origins. These are the ones through whom the process of assimilation moves forward.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

One of the most discouraging and overwhelming problems encountered by Hispanics in the United States, especially in the Northeast, has been the inability of educational systems to deal with their particular needs. Due to lack of facilities, relevant programs, and capable personnel, many Hispanics feel only helplessness when confronted with public school systems. The results are minimum participation and extremely high drop-out rates.

When other waves of immigrants faced similar problems in school earlier in this century, they, too, dropped out at an early age. The difference, however, is that in today's job market an uneducated, unskilled person with little knowledge of English will find it almost impossible to find work. That was not the case thirty years ago.

Fortunately, especially in the large cities of the Northeast where the major

concentrations of Hispanics live, school systems have begun to create curricula, English as a second language programs (ESL), and, in many instances, bilingual schools for Hispanics and other immigrants.

Supported by various federal, state and local funds, bilingual programs have become a staple in the educational fare of school districts serving concentrations of non-English-speaking groups. Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, alone accounted for over 300 programs representing forty languages and dialects. The vast majority of these programs serve Spanish-speaking students in the elementary grades.

Some bilingual programs are 'two-way,' that is, they serve Anglo children as well as those dominant in a language other than English. More and more programs, however, weighing more heavily on a compensatory education rationale, are 'one-way,' serving only children dominant in a language other than English. It may be of interest to note that Cincinnati, Ohio, offers a unique program of bilingual schools in French, German, and Spanish for native speakers of English.

Bilingual programs have three basic components: subject-matter instruction through the dominant language, enhancement of the native language and culture, and specialized instruction in the second language, i.e., ESL to non-English-dominant students. Moreover, it should be clear that bilingual programs include ESL as a necessary but not sufficient element for improving the educational opportunities of non-English-speaking students.

Bilingual programs in the Northeast, as elsewhere in the United States, have moved beyond the 'start-up' stage. Although there is still some resistance because of cutbacks in federal funds, the main concern has moved to such areas as teacher training, curriculum development, and test construction. Stimulated by federal support in the form of Teacher Corps projects and Title VII fellowship programs, several universities in the Northeast have become cooperating centers for such developments. For example, bilingual Teacher Corps projects have been conducted in partnership with local school systems by the University of Hartford, Boston University, and the City College of New York.

The focus of developments in terms of teachers, curricula, and test instruments has increasingly become compatible with the native culture of the target students. Thus, the prevailing 'label' has been expanded to bilingual-bicultural education. Thus, too, the programs in the Northeast have been expanded to include the teaching of Puerto Rican and other cultures.

CULTURAL AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Performing Arts. There are, in the Northeast, many theater groups which produce plays in Spanish. Most of these groups are Hispanic. In Boston, for example, The Hispanic Theater Company was founded in 1972. The production for the first season, consisting of the dramatization of several well-known fairy tales, was successful for several reasons. It helped to reinforce the self-image of the students involved; they realized that they had something important to offer to their own people and to the city as a whole. The ethnic community also took a great deal of pride in the theater company; the actors were Hispanic.

For the second season, the students chose five popular songs in Spanish, which they then adapted to skits. The goals were primarily to give students an educational experience, and put on a creative and exciting play. Now, after several years of experience, the group is concentrating on artistic goals. Cecilia Soriano-Bresnahan, the Director of Curriculum for Theater Arts in Education in Boston and one of the founders of the program, sees as its ultimate result the creation of a group of cultural pluralists who are bilingual, bicultural, and biliterate—people who do not belong exclusively to one culture, but who form a special group which will enrich the entire society.

Still another group working toward the preservation of Hispanic culture is Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción (IBA). Boston's South End has traditionally been the home of the majority of the city's Hispanics, and the IBA has taken advantage of urban renewal to create an atmosphere which promotes Hispanic culture. The Plaza Betances is the focal point of Villa Victoria, the area which is being rebuilt. On one side, it boasts a mural with a Hispanic motif. Here also is the Torre de Ancianos—a modern apartment building for the elderly which allows them independence without denying them access to their families. Eventually, there will be craft shops and other stores added to this apartment complex to approximate a plaza in Puerto Rico.

Areyto is the cultural center of IBA. Its statement of purpose is to provide a comprehensive program which strives to increase knowledge and awareness of Puerto Rican culture through theatre and art experiences. By experiencing the positive elements of their culture through theater, music, puppetry, art, and field trips, youth will develop a better self-image and sense of identity which will facilitate the integration of young Hispanics into the culture at large. The program is open to 100 to 150 Hispanic youth from the South End and surrounding communities.

Areyto is a Taino Indian word which can be roughly translated as 'celebration.'[35] The workshop, located in the basement of the IBA building, is a celebration of color, form, and sound. There are no stereotyped roles of student and teacher, and adults and children often work side by side. The adults ostensibly come to watch but often participate in the activities.

New York City has several theater groups which produce plays in Spanish. Formerly, they concentrated on plays by Spanish authors who were well-known literary figures. Recently, however, these groups are presenting more works by modern writers of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and South America. Four of the best known groups are Nuestro Teatro, INTAR, Spanish Repertory at the Gramercy Arts Theater, and Dume. There are additional theater groups in other cities in the Northeast, but none are as well established as those mentioned here.

Radio, Television, and Newspapers. The number of radio stations which broadcast programs in Spanish is growing rapidly as businesses recognize the im-

35. The Taino Indians were the indigenous population of Puerto Rico.

portance of advertising in Spanish to the Hispanic communities. In New York City there are two television channels which broadcast entirely in Spanish. Programming includes news, music, children's programs, and many soap operas. Much of the material comes from Mexico. No other cities in the Northeast have television channels broadcasting exclusively in Spanish, but there are many programs available in Spanish. They usually spotlight local Hispanics and include news of interest to the Hispanic community. There are also instructional programs directed mainly to children. Many major radio and television stations which broadcast mainly in English now have staff members (usually Hispanics) who are in charge of the programs in Spanish.

There are many Spanish-language newspapers and periodicals in the Northeast. *El Diario,* which has its headquarters in New York, also publishes editions for Philadelphia, New Jersey, and New England. *ABC,* a well-known newspaper in Madrid, has started publishing editions in New York for distribution in the United States and Latin America. The purpose is to offer a newspaper in Spanish of truly international character, since most newspapers in Spanish published in the Northeast emphasize regional news and news from Puerto Rico.

Churches and Social Clubs. Bilingual churches exist in most of the cities of the Northeast. Even in smaller communities where there is a significant Hispanic population, there is likely to be at least one church where Spanish is the official language. Although these churches are usually Catholic, there are some which are Protestant. In the Mount Pleasant area of Washington, D.C., for example, where there is a concentration of Hispanics, there are several Protestant churches.

The Catholic church has made a strong effort to involve the Hispanics and at the same time has adopted a program of integrating parishes so as to strengthen them and avoid fragmentation into tiny ethnic groups. While most Hispanics are nominally Catholic, it is estimated that more than 50% do not maintain an attachment to any parish.

Many mainland Puerto Ricans are members of Pentecostal and evangelical churches. It is difficult to estimate this percentage, since records are almost nonexistent, and there is often no permanent location. The Pentecostal churches are small, informal, and intimate, with a religious style reflecting the life style of poor, uprooted Puerto Ricans. Members participate actively and express themselves during the service through song, prayer, and clapping of hands. They are concerned for each other, greet each other warmly, and seek to help and comfort each other.

These storefront churches have a strong attraction for new arrivals to the mainland. All members are Puerto Rican including the minister. Membership is usually small (sixty to one hundred members), and they do not 'put off' or intimidate new arrivals the way a large church could.

These churches appear to lose their attraction and influence among second generation Puerto Ricans on the mainland. As these later generations achieve

greater assurance and adapt to life on the mainland, many return to the Catholic church.

Allegiance to the Catholic church among second generation Puerto Ricans on the mainland is divided. Some attend English-speaking services, some stay with the Spanish-speaking congregation, and some have abandoned religion.

One of the most important centers of social life for Hispanics is their social clubs. These clubs are often formed along national lines (Cuban Club, Peruvian Club, etc.), yet there are also many pan-Hispanic clubs. These organizations usually reflect the enthusiasm of a particular group of Hispanics at the time of formation. However, most of the clubs are rather short-lived as their members either move to other regions or form new groups.

In most of the large cities there is usually one large organization which coordinates the smaller groups and often acts as the representative for all Hispanics in that city. One example is the Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations in Philadelphia. In the District of Columbia, there is a Division of Spanish Affairs. Both Maryland and Virginia have Spanish-speaking community organizations; the Cubans have been instrumental in their formation. Many other cities and states have similar groups which often act in an advisory capacity to the municipal or state government.

Festivals, Markets, and Restaurants. As pride in ethnic backgrounds increases among the Hispanics and as their economic stature rises, so, too, do the number of festivals which they celebrate and the number of markets, restaurants, and other establishments which serve Hispanics. Since 1964 the Hispanics in New York City have celebrated 'Week in Spain' which culminates on Columbus Day. The major parade of the celebration features all of the countries of the Hispanic world. Other smaller festivals, such as Puerto Rican Day, are also popular. In Washington, D.C., there is a late-summer, outdoor, Hispanic festival with parades, music and dancing, booths displaying arts and crafts, and, naturally, sidewalk cafés. In Baltimore in May the Hispanics are one of the groups participating in the ethnic festivals sponsored by the city. In Philadelphia there is a 'Puerto Rican Week' with much celebration and a parade. In Boston in the summer there are many festivals of ethnic groups, among them the Hispanics. Smaller cities and towns also have local celebrations, usually in late summer, around Columbus Day, or in early spring.

In all of the major cities there are many markets, usually in the *barrio*, which sell items (mainly food) especially for Hispanics. They also attract many non-Hispanics, and some become so successful that they open stores in other neighborhoods. These stores are almost exclusively owned by Hispanics, usually Cubans, who frequently operated similar establishments in their home lands.

Restaurants fall into two categories: those which are in the *barrio* and are patronized by neighborhood Hispanics, and those which are in other sections of the city and which attract some Hispanics and many non-Hispanics.

Spanglish. Many Hispanics are bilingual to some extent; they speak some English while on their jobs and speak Spanish at home. In doing so, they forget

some Spanish from lack of practice and tend to use English interspersed with Spanish. This is especially common with words or expressions in English which are frequently used on the job or in the store. When these Puerto Ricans return to the island, they often have problems communicating.

Spanglish is English altered slightly to give the language a Spanish sound. This occurs frequently with nouns. Spanglish is also a mixture of the two languages or literal translations of English into Spanish.

Anne E. Barea Porges updated her original 1949 report on the influence of English on the Spanish of New York City[36] (which in reality could be any large city of the Northeast) in a recent article.[37] Her thesis is that in the last twenty-five years the influences have changed considerably due to the large number of American-born children of Hispanics who learn an Americanized Spanish at home and English in school. Salvador Tio[38] says that Spanglish is much like bilingualism, except that bilingualism implies the use of two languages as if they were one, whereas Spanglish is the opposite—the use of one language as if it were two.

Ms. Barea Porges does admit that newspapers and radio stations are making a concentrated effort to eliminate Spanglish as much as possible. She states that there are fewer anglicisms used in publications in New York City than there were twenty-five years ago. It is evident that there is a desire to retain Spanish among the Hispanics in the Northeast in spite of their gradual acculturation. A list of some typical words and expressions in Spanglish follows.

Table 3

Glossary of Typical Spanglish Vocabulary

Spanglish	*English*	*Spanish*
baquear	to back up, support	apoyar
beibito	baby	ninito
boifren	boyfriend	amigo; novio
bos	boss	patron
broque	broke	sin dinero, sin blanca
caque	cake	bizcocho
carpeta	carpet	alfombra
chanse	chance	oportunidad
chequear	to check	verificar
cho	show	función, espectáculo
esmart	smart	elegante, hábil
estore	store	tienda
forman	foreman	mayoral; capataz

36. "The Influence of English on the Spanish of New York," Thesis Florida 1949.

37. "The Influence of English on the Spanish of New York," *Hispanic Influences in the United States* (New York: Spanish Institute, 1975).

38. "Teoria de Espanglish," *A Fuego Lento* (Rio Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1954).

groseria	grocery store	tienda de víveres
guerfren	girlfriend	amiga; novia
jol	hall	vestíbulo
lonchar	to lunch	almorzar; merendar
lonchrum	lunchroom	merendero; comedor
marqueta	market	mercado
nais	nice	pulcro; agradable
parquear	to park	estacionar
raquet	racket	negocio fraudulento
relativo	relative	pariente
rufo	roof	techo
soportar	to support	sostener; mantener
tiquete	ticket	boleto
welfare	welfare	bienestar

Contributions

Introduction

A bright red ceiling with stylized flowers reflects the color of paprika hung out to dry in the Hungarian countryside; the tale of Hänsel and Gretel in pictures with German captions shines through stained-glass windows; the faces of Saints Cyril and Methodius join other Czech heroes in watching over students at work. At the University of Pittsburgh, closing a classroom door transports students to another world and another culture. Floors may be of parquet reminiscent of Versailles, of brick-red tiles from an Italian monastery, or of stone—cool as a medieval Irish abbey. Walls are never dull, whether painted in peasant motifs, of carved wood designs or intarsia paneling, or hung with Middle Eastern silks and embossed leathers. The legends, history, and traditions of a people are permanently visible for hundreds of students, faculty, and visitors.

The industry and the labor market of Pittsburgh attracted many immigrants over the years. These ethnic groups maintained their cultures and languages even as they merged into the mainstream of city and suburban life. The impetus for a living memorial to these ethnic roots came from a dynamic women, Ruth Crawford Mitchell, who in 1926 organized the first Nationality Room Committees. Each committee, representative of an ethnic group in the greater Pittsburgh area, was given space on the first floor of the new skyscraper university building, the Cathedral of Learning. They set about raising funds, commissioning architects and craftsmen in their home countries and in the United States, soliciting *objets d'art* and samples of native handicrafts.

Not mere showcases, these rooms are used daily as classrooms for the university. Blackboards, desks, chairs, tables, and lecterns are integrated into the overall design of the room. The Chinese Room's round table is ideal for seminar classes; the absence of a head chair is consistent with a philosophy that encourages respectful discussion.

The work of the Nationality Room Committees did not cease with the completion of the rooms, for their interest and pride expanded into other areas. Annually, approximately nineteen study-travel scholarships are awarded to students by individual Room Committees or the joint Nationality Room Council. The criteria for selection of awardees reflect the current thrust of ethnic programs. Some students share the ethnic background of the committee and go abroad in search of their roots; others are chosen because of an interest in the language, culture, or contemporary life of the country. Hopefully, students will bring back to the community and university an appreciation of a heritage and a desire to promote interest in it.

While Christmas is an especially colorful time, with each room decorated according to traditional styles, symbols of other ethnic festivities are placed in rooms throughout the year. Committees also capture student interest by sponsoring speakers and cultural exchanges, buying books, conducting language classes, and hosting dignitaries. The visit to the Polish Room by Edward Gierek, head of state of Poland, was telecast via satellite to Warsaw; Nationality Room hostesses described the room to him in Polish.

The University of Pittsburgh may be a microcosm of the nation. As the Nationality Rooms celebrate their semicentennial in the spring of 1976, the ethnic contributions to the community are alive, active, and growing.

The French-Speaking

From the Rodin Museum in Philadelphia to Auguste Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty in New York City, the Haitian restaurants in Brooklyn, the archives of L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, La Maison Française at Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, and the Tante Blanche Museum in Madawaska, Maine, there is much evidence that the French heritage continues in the Northeast.

We should constantly remind ourselves that people, rather than bricks and mortar, are the main contribution of France to America. These people, originally from the heartland of her royal provinces, now include some of her neighbors and former colonies: Belgians, Swiss, Algerians, Madagascans, Vietnamese, etc.

As ethnic minorities in our country, these groups have contributed diverse ideologies. They have added persons from all walks of life and in all fields of endeavor. Consider Major L'Enfant (the architect of the District of Columbia),

Etienne Girard (financier), Lily Pons (opera singer), René Audain (writer), Jack Kérouac (author), and Arnold Elie (dancer), for example, to begin to realize the extent of the human contribution which stems from this cultural heritage.

ACADIAN-AMERICANS

There are two primary geographic populations of Acadian influence in the Northeast—northern Maine and central Connecticut. With the end of the depression and the beginning of the Second World War, thousands of young French-speaking Acadians left their valley farms to find work in industrialized areas. Hartford, Connecticut, for instance, drew many laborers from northern Maine farms.

Today, the children and cousins of these modern migrants can be found in the general population of America. They possess a rich legacy of *lutins* (the urchins who loved to play tricks on horses), *loups-garous* (the mischievous persons transformed into beasts), *feux follets* (who haunted cemeteries), and *chasse-galeries* (hunters condemned to roam the world for having hunted on Sunday). From their grandparents the children might have heard of old medical prescriptions. To stop a nosebleed, for instance, one wore a key on a thread around the neck. A boil could be healed by rubbing it three times with a top of a wet wooden match in a counter clockwise direction. Sore eyes should be washed with holy water or strong tea.

Parents and grandparents brought up children with such 'old saws' as:

Bon sang ne peut mentir.	One who is well-bred does not lie.
Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut.	What woman wants, God wants.
Les grandes douleurs sont muettes.	Great pains are silent.
Qui s'y frotte s'y pique.	One gets burned playing with fire.

As part of one's education, children also learned certain omens. One was certain to take a trip, for instance, if one had counted forty white horses on the same day. If a young couple married on a Monday, they would have a life of hard work; if they were wed on a Friday, the husband would be very jealous. Anyone rocking an empty rocking chair was looking for bad luck.

Family recipes were also handed down through generations. Common dishes still served today include: *plogue* (a buckwheat pancake), *cretons* (a pork spread), *boudin* (blood sausage), and *pot-en-pot* (a variety of meats, each separated by a layer of dough).

Songs, dances, games, and leisure activities are a part of Acadian culture. Until recently, this legacy was largely unwritten. In the past few years, however, researchers such as Anne Marie Gauvin, A.J. Michaud, and Roger Paradis have begun collecting such material. The University of Maine at Fort Kent presently owns the largest single collection in the United States.

Acadians numbered 18,000 at the time of the deportation in 1755; today there are over 2,000,000 Acadian descendants in the world. Some 800,000 are in Louisi-

ana; roughly 400,000 live in the Maritime provinces, and as many, if not more, in the Canadian province of Quebec. The remainder are scattered throughout France, the West Indies, South America, and the United States.

The Saint John Valley has been American for 180 years, but 85% of its 25,000 people still speak French and English. Its schools endeavor to take advantage of this bilingualism. Federal audits and independent studies document the effectiveness of these recent educational efforts, and the Acadian of today successfully faces a life of divergent cultures.

FRANCO-AMERICANS

Many Franco-American leaders believed that the group would somehow reconstitute itself and emerge, unified and unchanged, following the dislocations occasioned by World War II; such was not to be the case. The post-war economic and social revolution affected all American ethnic groups.

The Housing Act of 1949, as amended in 1954 and, especially, in 1961, resulted in vast urban renewal projects destructive of old neighborhoods. Huge, partially-vacant factories are to be found in most New England mill towns. Widespread underemployment and migration of the better educated continue to plague single-industry communities.

A rapid decline in parochial school enrollment, the result of complex economic and social factors, led to the closing of many Franco-American schools and the consolidation of others. This far-reaching development affected the decline of Franco-American language and culture.

Observers of the Franco-American scene are generally pessimistic about the prospects for survival.[1] Most tend to equate 'survival' with the use of French in all phases of daily living but tend to discount other signs of ethnicity.

Franco-Americans as a group are still faithful Catholics and remain in New England. Research would also doubtless confirm the view that Franco-Americans continue to maintain close family ties, tend to associate with members of their own group, and vote along fairly predictable lines. Equally important is the persistence of other cultural traits, the most obvious of which is the ability to recognize and appreciate items relating to the group's heritage: attitudes, expressions, food, humor, etc. The large number of graduates of Franco-American parochial schools share knowledge and experiences which acculturation to mainstream American life cannot erase.

There are indications that Franco-Americans share in the new ethnicity. This phenomenon can perhaps best be defined as the tendency on the part of minorities to identify with other ethnic groups' aspirations for civil rights, economic opportunities, political power, prestige, and respect. Local, state, and federal government agencies are increasingly responsive to pressures exerted by groups acting in concert to advance their individual interests.

National Defense Education Act summer institutes for Franco-American teachers of French from 1961 to 1968 were early instances of federal assistance. Instruc-

1. E.g., James P. Allen, "Catholics in Maine: A Social Geography," Diss. Syracuse 1970, pp. 300-54.

tional materials for Franco-American secondary school students were also produced pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education in 1963.[2]

In 1968, Massachusetts established an American-Canadian French Cultural Exchange Commission:

> (1) To establish, maintain, and develop cultural ties between French-Canadians and Franco-Americans;
> (2) To foster a special interest in the historical and cultural background of both groups, as well as in the economic, political, social, and artistic life of the countries involved; and
> (3) To help establish or promote French language programs in the schools of the Commonwealth.[3]

The New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center of the University of Maine at Orono was created in the same year.[4]

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has funded several bilingual projects affecting Franco-Americans. In 1970, long-term programs were initiated at Greenville, New Hampshire, and in the St. John Valley of Maine. Similar endeavors are currently underway in Berlin, New Hampshire; Canaan, Vermont; and Caribou, Maine. The National Materials Development Center, located in Bedford, New Hampshire, has a related mission. Finally, it should be noted that 100 students are being trained in a Federally-subsidized program of the University of Maine at Orono to provide geriatric services to Franco-Americans throughout New England.

There is every reason to believe that efforts such as these, reinforcing the work of Franco-American organizations structured along different lines, will achieve the desired renewal of the Franco-American heritage.

HAITIAN-AMERICANS

A large wave of Haitian migration has occurred in the Northeast since the late 1950's, resulting in concentrations in metropolitan areas such as New York, Boston, and Montreal. Because of the frequently illegal aspect of their immigration, statistics are often suspect. In New York City, the figures vary from an official 15,000 to an unofficial 300,000.[5]

Along with their characteristic sense of insulation and a national racial pride, the newcomers bring a rich background of artistic achievement. Reared in the cultural and historical roots of the first black republic, they have always sus-

2. Gerard Brault, *Cours de langue française destiné aux jeunes Franco-américains* (Manchester, N.H.: Association des Professeurs Franco-américains, 1965).

3. Similar commissions exist in other states, e.g., Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine.

4. The Canadian-American Center was formerly called the New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center.

5. Jervis Anderson, "The Haitians of New York," *New Yorker* (31 March 1975), p. 54.

tained themselves in periods of political crisis, when home rule wavered between dictatorial and paternal leadership, with the security of their identity.

This self-identity also makes them willing contributors in a country accustomed to cultural pluralism. Homesickness is rapidly dispelled by the sound of *Choucoune*;[6] at the sight of a painting by Lucner Lazar, Pétion Savain, or St. Louis Blaise; by the smell of kidney beans and sweet potato pudding; by a voodoo dance or the Troupe Jean-Léon Destiné; or by the cheers of spectators at a soccer game.

In addition to their rich cultural experiences, the Haitians bring their religious beliefs and Creole language with them. In the process, they contribute their ideologies through radio programs, lecture groups, art expositions, and newspapers, the most popular being the *Haiti-Observateur* founded in 1971 by Raymond and Léopold Joseph.

Whether laborer or artist, physician or reporter, the Haitian-American is still rooted in the culture of his homeland. While some are realizing their dream and others are coping with the social and economic realities of their environment, most are interested and involved in the developments on the island, since they belong to a generation in the first stages of assimilation in America and the Northeast.

FRENCH-AMERICANS

The vestiges of French colonialism can be found in the names of such cities as Des Moines, Iowa; Terre Haute, Indiana; De Père, Wisconsin; Pierre, South Dakota; or Au Sable, Michigan.

Besides fur trading and searching for a passage to the Pacific, the French settlers contributed to what was considered a religious mandate. Jeanne Mance founded a hospital in Montreal, and Marguerite Bourgeoys established a school for girls. Many missionaries built churches; some worked with the Indians. Father Sébastien Rasle, for instance, worked with the Maine Abnakis for thirty years. He farmed, fished, and hunted with them, and took care of the sick. He also gave their language a written form. In 1974, over two hundred years after his death, a museum was dedicated to him in Norridgewock, Maine, where his mission was located.

After French power had ended in North America, the contributions of French immigrants continued throughout the development of our democratic experience. Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754-1825), for instance, fought and was wounded in the American Revolution. Later he was captured and imprisoned for two years. A military engineer, architect, and city planner, he laid out Paterson, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C. Recognition for his services came after his death; in 1909 his remains were reburied in Arlington National Cemetery.

Pierre Etienne Duponceau (1760-1844) came to the United States during the American Revolution. He served as secretary and aide-de-camp to Baron von Steuben. After the war he lived in Philadelphia, where he wrote on law, history, and Indian languages.

6. Singer Harry Belafonte made *Choucoune* popular under the title "Yellow Bird."

Etienne Girard (1750-1831) settled in Philadelphia, where he became a shipmaker, merchant, and baker. He was one of the major financial supporters of the War of 1812. At his death, he left over $5,000,000 to found and maintain Girard College.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, contributions have been more varied, extending into art, literature, and architecture. Thus, one can study a Picasso sculpture on a Chicago square, a Ferdinand Delacroix painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, and Renoirs and Corots at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts. One can hear French radio programs in Los Gatos, California (KRVE), Boise, Idaho (KBOI), Cleveland, Ohio (WXEN), or Las Vegas, Nevada (KLAV). One can also buy such publications as *Passe-Partout* (published in Middletown, Connecticut), *France-Amérique* (New York City), and *Le Californien* (California).

The student of French can find much to study of this legacy: the movies of Maurice Chevalier, Charles Boyer, Leslie Caron, and Louis Jourdain; the writings of Chateaubriand, Paul Bourget, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Jules Verne; the plans for the construction of the Panama Canal by Ferdinand de Lesseps.

Today, a large contribution is made by the French immigrants who settled across America. Special mention should be made of French-American textbook writers and language teachers at all institutional levels. They, along with all other French-Americans, contribute to the humanism of our democracy.

The German-Speaking

INTRODUCTION

The total impact of German influence on the American cultural heritage is difficult to define or measure. One must be satisfied with highlighting certain major contributions of individuals and groups, hoping that no great and influential person is omitted. In an attempt to limit the listing, most of the persons included are first generation, those immigrants who considered a German-speaking country their fatherland and German their mother tongue.

The pedagogical value of this section lies in its use as an impetus for further investigation into the many areas where German influence prevails. The possibilities for interdisciplinary projects and classroom activities are also present in the information provided.

PRAGMATIC INFLUENCES[7]

Agriculture. Many German immigrants were connected with agriculture before they arrived here, and many continued that tradition. The concept of market gardening was begun in 1783 in the growing of fruits and flowers by the acre by Johann Schwerdkopf, who soon monopolized the market with his products. Large scale cultivation of flax, grapes, and oranges was also initiated by German settlers.

Three developments came of these agricultural ventures. First, the Conestoga wagon, in which wares were transported to market, was created and manufactured. The wagon was called the 'ship of inland commerce' and had a red running gear, a blue body, and a sturdy white linen cover. Second, journals devoted to the cultivation of a single product, e.g., *Grape Culturist* published by George Husmann, were established. Third, the use of science in agriculture was developed. For example, Eugene Hilgard played an important role through his lectures on geology, chemistry, and other natural sciences given at various American universities. Another area of German influence was the development of forestry schools and conservation techniques. Carl Schurz as Secretary of the Interior fostered the major role government now assumes in the preservation of land.

Architecture. From the Pennsylvania barns to the modern glass structures of the *Bauhaus* movement, Germans contributed to the development of American architecture. Log construction associated with Jamestown and Plymouth is attributed to German settlers, as is the *Niedersächsisches Bauernhaus* (Lower Saxon farmhouse) which houses living quarters, stables, and barn under one roof. The large indoor stove with tiles and the *Fachwerk* (half-timbered) houses found especially in Wisconsin are also of German origin.

In America, the German preferred to settle in an *Einzelhof* (a single farm dwelling) rather than in the *Dorf* (a village or hamlet) pattern to which they were accustomed in Germany. The Einzelhof seemed to be an expression of the freedom which the settlers had come to find—freedom in a spiritual as well as in a physical, indeed spatial, sense caused by the vast dimensions of their new homeland.

The most revolutionary German influence on architectural design—both interior and exterior—is the *Bauhaus*. The names of Joseph Albers, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Mies van der Rohe come to mind. Several generations of American architects were students of Gropius at Harvard and van der Rohe at The University of Chicago.

Business and Trade. Several Germans accumulated large fortunes by trading in tobacco, real estate, and fur and by establishing chains of department stores. Those who succeeded often came from Europe with a banking background. These men helped to build cities such as Baltimore and New York into major interna-

7. For extensive discussion of this topic, see Robert H. Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1974), pp. 30ff.

tional trade centers. Well-known names still associated with the world of finance and commerce (and also with extensive philanthropic support of American cultural life) are Altman, Belmont, Bloomingdale (Blumenthal), Guggenheim, Kuhn, Loeb, Lehmann, Orbach, Straus (of Levi's fame), and Schiff. Other success stories include the leading breweries in America—Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz.

Crafts. One of the best known and most widely recognized contributions of the Germans to America is the skills they brought as craftsmen and artisans. Carefully trained in long apprenticeships and strictly supervised by the powerful German guilds, a German *Meister* (master) knew his trade. While few craftsmen attained widespread fame, their products can still be seen in areas of New York, Pennsylvania, and other northeastern states.

Among pioneer women quilting was a highly developed skill, and today Pennsylvania Dutch quilts with their abstract designs and bold mixtures of colors are collector's items. Samples of needlework are on display in museums and historical societies. Their houses were lavishly embellished with hand-painted religious and didactic inscriptions. Their love of flowers is manifested in the flower gardens, boxes filled with flowers, and floral designs on furniture and birth and baptismal certificates.

Less beautiful but very essential was the Pennsylvania rifle which helped in the western movement. Although a gun was more important for survival than a piano, later generations have benefited from the German artisans who first built these instruments in Philadelphia. Henry Steinway left his factory in Braunschweig in the care of his eldest son and in 1825 came to New York where he began to build his masterpieces at the rate of one a week.

Foods. Hamburgers and frankfurters are considered German contributions to American life, as are pancakes, sauerkraut, sauerbraten, rye bread, and other staples of the American dinner table. German *Delikatessengeschäfte* (gourmet food stores) in every major American city enjoy great popularity, as do German restaurants and cafés, whether they are called *Brauhaus*, *Konditorei*, *Wienerwald*, or *Zum Zum*. The variety of *Teigwaren* (pasta and pastry) and *Wurst* products is well-known.

Several German immigrants in the nineteenth century became important in food production and food processing. Rolled oats were first produced by Ferdinand Schumacher in 1850, self-rising flour by John Hecker, sugar cubes and granulated sugar by Claus Spreckels. Hershey, Mueller, Heinz, and Smuckers are other prominent contributors.

Recreation and Festivals. The German immigrants produced an extraordinary variety of German-American clubs and societies. These groups were designed to preserve German culture and to provide the *Gemütlichkeit* associated with recreational activities. Most important among these were the *Gesangverein* (singing club) and the *Turnverein* (sports club). The *Volksfest*, still popular today in Kutztown, Pennsylvania, and in the Catskills of New York, perhaps began with

the first *Jahrmarkt* (yearly festival) held in Germantown when Pastorius was its mayor and spiritual leader. In addition, there are the traditional *Turnerfest* (gymnastics festival), *Sängerfest* (singing festival), and *Oktoberfest* (October festival).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these social activities were less commercialized and more authentically German. They represented a curious mixture of folk and elite culture, since the music frequently included classical favorites by Mozart and Beethoven. Causes for celebration were the birthdays of famous poets such as Goethe and Schiller. Today such dates are observed as special events in the Goethe House or the German departments of universities. Most Americans of German background today do not consider this elite culture of great interest to them.

Perhaps the best known festivities—festivals in a different sense—to which Germans have lent their traditions and deeply influenced American life are Christmas and Easter. The Hessian mercenaries lit the first Christmas trees in America; Thomas Nast modelled Santa Claus after the German *Knecht Ruprecht*. The *Christkind* (Christ child), Advent wreath, Christmas carolling, and cooking and baking specialties are evidences of the German Christmas in America.

The Pennsylvania Germans are credited with bringing the Easter rabbit and the Easter egg. According to ancient Germanic legend, the goddess Ostara transformed a bird into a rabbit which thereafter out of gratitude laid eggs every spring on the feast of Ostara.

TECHNOLOGICAL INFLUENCES[8]

Engineering. Americans of German descent were instrumental in the construction of major bridges in the United States, for example, Roebling and the Brooklyn Bridge, Schneider and the Freedom Bridge at Niagara Falls, Strauss and the Golden Gate Bridge. Other Germans were active in railway engineering before and during the Civil War. Perhaps the best known German contributor in the field of electrical engineering was Charles Steinmetz.

Industrial Technology. The weavers from Krefeld who settled Germantown developed the textile field as early as the seventeenth century. Frederick Amelung began the manufacture of glass on a large scale when he arrived in Maryland in 1748 with 500 German craftsmen. The first iron foundry was begun by Thomas Ruetter in Pennsylvania. Important in steel production was Henry Frick, whose fortune has left us the mansion and its art treasures in New York City. Bausch and Lomb are known for their scientific and optical instruments and played an important part in the commercial history of Rhode Island. Studebaker and Gerstenschlager manufactured automotive bodies; the Seiberlings developed farm machinery. The Timkens produced roller bearings, the Diebolds bank and office equipment, and the Hoovers household appliances.

8. For more details, see Richard O'Connor, *The German-Americans: An Informal History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), pp. 360ff.

Printing and Publishing. In the history of the printed word, Germany's contribution began with Gutenberg. A second contribution was the invention of the linotype by Ottmar Mergenthaler, a German who had emigrated to America.

Freedom of the press began with the trial of the newspaper publisher John Peter Zenger. In 1733 he founded the *New Yorker Weekly Journal*. His criticism of government led to imprisonment and trial. Zenger's fiery attacks, which continued over the ten months of his imprisonment, were written by his wife Catherine, who may be the first female publisher and ghostwriter in this country. His eventual acquittal led to new legislation in England.

Numerous German newspapers played an important role in the political and social life of Colonial times. In Pennsylvania alone, since the establishment of the first German newspaper by Benjamin Franklin in 1732, until the end of the century, there were thirty-eight German newspapers. At times in American history, in cities such as New York, there were more German newspapers than were published in Berlin and Leipzig. When the liberal intellectuals came in the early nineteenth century, more went into journalism than any other profession. Due to their efforts, German bookstores and libraries flourished.

The influence Germans had on printing and publishing is evident in the number of companies they founded which exist today. These include Alfred Knopf, Pantheon Books, Frederick Ungar, Frederick Praeger, and Schocken Books.

Another influence in the American publishing field was the publication of the comic strip "The Katzenjammer Kids" created by Rudolf Dirks, considered the 'Father of the Comic Strip.' It was William Randolph Hearst, who in his childhood had been exposed to Wilhelm Busch's *Max und Moritz*, who asked Dirks in 1897 to create a similar strip for his company.

Today there are still German newspapers that appear once or twice weekly in most major American cities. Whereas the earlier German-American newspapers were critical of American customs and arrogant toward other ethnic groups, the papers of today have a positive and constructive attitude, summed up best in the sub-head of the New York *Staatszeitung und Harold*, "An American paper printed in the German language."

Science. The impact of German scientists on the American scene is perhaps the greatest of any of the fields under discussion. Among those who fled Hitler's Germany were thirteen scientists who had already won Nobel Prizes or were to win them after they had emigrated.

The image of Germany as the country of the *Dichter und Denker* (philosophers and poets) projected in past centuries now became one of the country of *Naturwissenschaftler* (natural scientists) and, to some extent, *Sozialwissenschaftler* (social scientists). Germans contributed to the fields of psychoanalysis (Bruno Bettelheim, Felix Deutsch, Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Otto Rank, Wilhelm Reich, Theodor Reik, and Ernst Simmel) and psychology (Wolfgang Köhler, Kurt Kafka, and Max Wertheimer—leaders of the Gestalt school).

In the area of social research, the *Frankfurter Institut für Sozialforschung*, forced to close in Germany in 1933, came to America almost as a unit and became part of Columbia University. The leading personalities were Max Horkheimer,

Herbert Marcuse, Otto Kirchheimer, Karl Wittfogel, Paul Massig, Felix Weil, and Theodor W. Adorno, who later returned to Germany. This exodus of great minds brought America many benefits during the 1930's and thereafter.

It has been said that "the exiles Hitler made were the greatest collection of transplanted intellect, talent, and scholarship the world has ever seen."[9] Even after the war a 'braindrain' continued including such scientists as Wernher von Braun and some of his co-workers. Today a great deal of productive interchange, interaction, and exchange takes place between the two countries, involving university faculty, research institutes, and small and large corporations. What this amounts to is not immigration in the earlier sense but rather simply the movement of certain elements of the population between two fluid and mobile societies.[10]

INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES

Education. Franz Daniel Pastorius, a German-born American whose name appears constantly in the life of the early colonists, also showed great vision in the field of education. He established the first evening school for adults and was the first teacher of German in America at the co-educational school established in Germantown. At the Public Academy in Philadelphia, German and French were taught as early as 1754, as were the classical languages—through the medium of German. In 1766 Benjamin Franklin visited Göttingen University and used much of what he learned there as a model for restructuring the Public Academy, now the University of Pennsylvania. Later, several universities were constructed on the German model: Michigan, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins.

A growing interest in German culture and education was also reflected in the founding of several German schools during the next century and in the curricular reform of the existing schools. While earlier Germans had tried to preserve their German culture, they were not generally able to transmit their heritage to their English-speaking fellow citizens. Many were out of touch with the new intellectual life of their homeland. Thus, with a few exceptions, Americans had never looked to Germany for intellectual stimulation and leadership.

The translation of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1814) caused the young, educated American to turn to the German language, literature, and educational system with curiosity and admiration. A number studied at Göttingen, and their experiences had a profound effect on New England colleges of the day. Significant, too, was the founding of the first kindergarten in the United States by Margaretha Schurz, wife of Carl Schurz, in 1850.

In the twentieth century the German influence existed not so much in the area of pedagogical reform but rather in the contributions of individuals and 'schools' that had emigrated. The immigrant scientists and sociologists were often affiliated with American universities and had immeasurable influence on education as a

9. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *The Intellectual Migration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 12.

10. Mack Walker, "The Old and the New Homeland," Unpub. proposal, p. 10.

whole. An important development was the founding of the University in Exile in 1933 which became the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research. As in the sciences, the educational exchange with Germany today is lively; whereas, however, during her own development America looked to Germany for educational models, the process now seems to be reversed, and many reforms in the German system have come from the United States.

Politics. In discussing the role of the German immigrants in American politics, one is confronted by numerous contradictions. On one hand, the German element seems to have shown apathy toward politics and public affairs. With the exception of the Forty-Eighters, the German immigrant was preoccupied with the building of a new and better life and the preservation of the cultural heritage of the fatherland. On the other hand, Germans are identified with some of the significant social and political movements in the United States.

The names Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben and Carl Schurz still have special significance in the German contribution to American political developments. *Freiherr* (Baron) von Steuben[11] met Benjamin Franklin in Europe and arrived in America in 1777. He was welcomed by the Continental Congress, his fellow countrymen in Pennsylvania, and George Washington, whose demoralized army he took charge of at Valley Forge.[12] His leadership of the troops led to his appointment as their major general. Throughout his life he remained active, formulating the plans for the military academy,[13] serving as a Regent of The University of the State of New York and as the first president of the German Society of New York.

Carl Schurz had been the leader of a German student revolutionary movement. After the failure of the Revolution in 1848 in Germany, he was forced to leave. He arrived in New York in 1852, twenty-three years old, well educated, but completely unknown and not fluent in English. Within seven years he had mastered English and was admitted to the bar to become nationally famous through his speech on "True Americanism."[14] The list of his accomplishments is long and significant, including his friendship with Lincoln, his duty as Minister to Spain, his command of a division in the Civil War, his journalistic successes, his service in the United States Senate, and his career as Secretary of the Interior. He opposed slavery and prejudice, fought for a solution to the Indian problem by legal means, began the development of a national parks system and systematic conservation, and improved civil service through the introduction of the merit system.

Many Civil War regiments consisted almost entirely of Germans. Furthermore, Germans supported Lincoln and his anti-slavery policies. The German element was also strong in the radical parties established in the 1870's and 1880's. Long

11. Doubts are frequently expressed regarding the legitimacy of titles of nobility which numerous German immigrants retained; von Steuben's title had been conferred by the Margrave of Baden.
12. Theodore Huebener, *The Germans in America* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1962), pp. 49-54.
13. *Ibid.*; Huebener suggests that this may have been the basis for West Point.
14. Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Volume I (New York: 1913), 69-72.

after the founding of the Socialist Labor party, for instance, German was spoken at its conventions.[15]

The Arts. Numerous painters of German descent and training worked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More far-reaching was the influence of German artists during the twentieth century, e.g., George Grosz, Max Beckmann, Hans Hofmann, Joseph Albers, and Max Ernst. In addition, Erich Panofsky, Ludwig Bachhofer, Otto Benesch, and Walter Friedländer contributed to art history as a field of study at the major universities and institutes.

The history of the Metropolitan Museum in New York serves as an example of the German effort to collect and preserve art.[16] The names Havemeyer, Altman, Blumental, and Lehman are significant in this respect. Distinguished curators who immigrated were George Haufmann, Hans Huth, Jacob Rosenberg, Georg and Hans Swarzenski, Emmanuel Winternitz, and Alexander Dorner. These men "have brought a much needed deepening and broadening of museum collections in America."[17]

Germans were active in establishing numerous *Sängervereine* (singing societies), *Männerchöre* (men's choirs), and a variety of singing organizations as well as bands and orchestras. Furthermore, they were active in establishing music publishing houses. Two examples of early German music published in America are the "Reading Waltz" and the "Kutztown Reel."[18]

Germans were especially active in the formation of orchestras and musical societies. In 1774, the New England Musical Society was formed, the first of numerous such groups founded in the Northeast, e.g., the Händel and Haydn Society in Boston (1815), the Musical Fund Society in Philadelphia (1820), and the New York Philharmonic Society (1842). Germans initiated the establishment of conservatories in Boston, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis. When a German orchestra, appropriately called Germania, came to America in 1848, the American interest in music was still so limited and ticket sales so poor that it was only with the help of the New York Philharmonic Society that the orchestra could continue its performances.

The Germania orchestra was the first to acquaint American audiences with the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven and, on the lighter side, with waltzes and polkas. Many of its members remained in America after the tour and were active in creating and maintaining American interest and participation in music, serving as conductors and music professors. Leopold Damrosch conducted the first performances of Wagner at the Metropolitan Opera House; his son, Frank, founded the Institute of Musical Art, later the Julliard School, and introduced singing into the curriculum of American schools. Another German immigrant, Otto Kahn,

15. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

16. Henry Marx, "Fast sieben Millionen," Chap. 18 in Richard O'Connor, *Die Deutsch-Amerikaner* (Hamburg: Hoffman & Campe, 1970).

17. Fleming and Bailyn, *op. cit.*, Section III, 13.

18. Don Yoder, "Proposal for an Exhibit on Emigrant German Contributions to the Culture of the United States," Unpub. paper, p. 27.

made Metropolitan Opera performances possible for more than three decades through his generous financial support. Perhaps less visible but equally important to the American musical scene were Paul Hindemith, who taught at Yale University, and Kurt Weill, whose *Dreigroschenoper* (*Threepenny Opera*) was both influenced by and influential in the American musical theater.

German-American literary contribution found expression in dialect, High German, and English.[19] Among the Pennsylvania German writers[20] are Helen Martin (*Tillie, a Mennonite Maid*), Elsie Singmaster (*The Magic Mirror*), and Conrad Richter (*Free Man*). *The Bee Hive* of Franz Daniel Pastorius, a collection of historical, literary, geographical, and political materials, appeared in six languages.

Otto Rupuis wrote a number of novels set in the period of western expansion, and Oswald Seidensticker wrote a number of historical works dealing with early German settlements in America. During the 1930's, the names Franz Werfel, Erich Maria Remarque, Leon Feuchtwanger, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Ernst Toller, Oskar Maria Graf, Carl Zuckmayer, and Bertolt Brecht are significant. Following World War II several returned to Europe.

The Spanish-Speaking

SPORTS

Although it would be impossible to mention all of the figures who are Hispanics, certain ones are familiar to fans everywhere. Among them are Angel Cordero, a jockey from Puerto Rico; Charles Passarell, a tennis player from Puerto Rico; Lee Trevino and Chi Chi Rodrigues, golfers from Mexico and Puerto Rico respectively; Carlos Ortiz, a boxer from Puerto Rico; and Jim Plunkett, a football player of Chicano background.

In the Caribbean area, baseball is the national sport. In Puerto Rico, for example, no town or village lacks a diamond. Contrary to popular belief, Puerto Rico's love of baseball does not stem merely from Yankee influences. The Taino Indians had a sport called *batu* played with a baseball-like rubber ball.

The most famous baseball player from Puerto Rico was Roberto Clemente, who played for the Pittsburgh Pirates until his death in 1972. He was the youngest of a large family, whose father was a foreman on a sugar cane plantation. He left Puerto Rico in 1954, knowing no English, and became a star in the major leagues. He won the Most Valuable Player Award in 1966 and in 1970 was awarded an

19. A valuable publication on this topic is Glenn G. Gilbert, ed., *The German Language in America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971).

20. Yoder, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

honorary Doctor of Education degree by the Catholic University of Puerto Rico in recognition of his work with youth on the island.

Four members of the pennant-winning Boston Red Sox are Hispanics. Rogelio Moret, a pitcher, was born in Guayama, Puerto Rico; Diego Sequi, another pitcher, was born in Holquin, Cuba; Juan Beniquez, a young outfielder, was born and still resides in San Sebastian, Puerto Rico; and Luis Tiant, one of the heroes of the 1975 season, is from Cuba. His father was also a pitcher who still lives in Cuba. He was finally allowed to leave late in the baseball season to see his son pitch the Red Sox into the World Series. In both 1973 and 1974 Tiant was voted the Red Sox' Most Valuable Pitcher.

THE ARTS

Many singers, musicians, actors, and directors are Hispanics. One who achieved early fame on television was Desi Arnaz, who is from Cuba. He was originally a musician, but became very popular as Lucy's heavily-accented husband on the *I Love Lucy* television program. He was one of the first Hispanics to achieve stardom as an ethnic comedian.

José Ferrer, born in Puerto Rico, debuted in New York in 1935 in *Charlie's Aunt*. He acted in such movies as *Moulin Rouge* and *Cyrano de Bergerac*. His most recent theater success was in *Man of La Mancha*. He is also a successful director.

Two other outstanding actors from Puerto Rico are Raúl Julia and Rita Moreno. The former played a leading role in *Two Gentlemen from Verona*, for which he received a Tony Award nomination; he is presently with the New York Shakespeare Theater. Rita Moreno, an actress and dancer, was nominated for an Oscar for her performance in *West Side Story*. She has since played many dramatic roles both on the stage and in movies.

One of the most popular singers today is José Feliciano, who is from Puerto Rico. He rose to international fame after his appearance at the San Remo Song Festival in 1970 in spite of his blindness.

Pablo Casals was born in Spain but left because of the Spanish Civil War. A world-famous cellist and conductor, he served as director of the music festival in Puerto Rico from 1957 until his death in 1974. He also served as director of a music festival in Vermont each summer. His permanent residence was in San Juan, but he spent much time in the Northeast.

Other Hispanics residing in the United States who are well-known in the arts include Lucecita Benitez, Tony Orlando, and Vicki Carr (singers); Trini Lopez, Tito Puente, and Carlos Santana (musicians); Graciela Rivera and Justino Díaz (opera singers); and Anita Vcicz and Chita Rivera (dancers). The list is far from complete; further information can be obtained from the entertainer's unions.

POLITICS AND THE HUMANITIES

Severo Ochoa was born in Spain but moved to New York in 1940. He has been a professor of biochemistry at New York University, and in 1959 he shared the Nobel Prize for Medicine or Physiology.

Arthur Schomburg, a Black born in Puerto Rico, came to the mainland after World War I. He was a noted bibliophile and collector of books, mainly about Blacks. His collection is now in the New York Public Library. George Santayana was born in Spain but moved to Boston at an early age. He is a noted philosopher, essayist, and poet.

As yet there have been few Hispanic politicians elected to national office. One exception in the Northeast is Herman Badillo, who is Puerto Rican. A former President of Bronx County, former Commissioner of Relocation, and an elected member of the 1966 New York State Constitutional Convention, he currently serves in the United States Congress representing New York.

Other Hispanics in these categories include Ebaristo Rivera Chevremont, Luciano, and Clemente Soto-Velez (poets); Eduardo Seda-Bonilla (anthropologist); Ricardo Algería, María Teresa Babín, Tomás Blanco, Luis Nieves Falcón, and Piri Thomas (authors); Gerardo Rivera, Gloria Rojas, and Julio Rosado (reporters); Horacio Rivera (ambassador); Angel Miranda (psychiatrist and professor); and Teodoro Moscoso (economist).

SPANISH INFLUENCE ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Names such as Ponce de León, Cabeza de Vaca, and Coronado are familiar to all who have studied the earlier history of the United States. As these Spaniards explored this country, they gave Spanish names to various regions. Many of these names, especially in the Southwest, have remained. Many states which were first settled by Spaniards retained their original name, for instance, Colorado, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Florida, and Montana. Colorado was so named because of the many colors of the Colorado River canyon. The derivation of Texas is uncertain (possibly from the Spanish *tejas* [roofs]); New Mexico is obvious; Montana is so named because of the terrain, Arizona, because of the climate; and Florida, because it was discovered by Ponce de Leon on *El Día de la Pascua Florida*. Other geographical names of Spanish origin include the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the Rio Grande, and cities such as El Paso, Los Angeles, San Diego, Toledo, etc.

The architecture introduced by the Spaniards came from Andalucia—the Spanish-style ranch with a patio, iron gratings, balconies, and tiles; and the main squares called *plazas* with arcades (*arcada*) and arches. Also from Spain come alcoves, portals, and porticoes. Many of the structures are made out of adobe and are frequently painted white or, as in Andalucia, whitewashed.

Many Spaniards became ranchers, and such words as ranch, rodeo, and lasso came into English. The terrain, with its sierras and canyons, shows the Spanish influence. Foods and beverages, such as chocolate, cocoa, vanilla, and sherry, come from Spanish words. And, of course, one can't forget the popular Mexican foods, such as tortilla, taco, enchilada, and chile.

The musical rhythms of the tango, the rumba, the merengue, and the cha-cha-cha are all from South America and retain their Spanish names. The principal instrument of Spanish music is the guitar.

There are also many proper names derived from Spanish. Among them are Anita, Dolores, Mercedes, Linda, and Lana. It is interesting to note that all of

these are girls' names. Names which refer to groups of men are frequently used, especially in Western movies. How many sheriffs and posses have had to pursue bandidos, desperadoes, and renegades? Captured desperadoes were put in the hoosegow (*juzgado*) or the calaboose (*calabozo*). In the South and Southwest big landowners were often called grandees while the laborers were peons.

In contemporary American society, the influence of the Spanish language is very strong, both in frequently used expressions and in names. We often talk about taking a siesta; expressions such as *adiós* and *hasta la vista* are frequently used by non-Spanish speakers; everyone understands the *mañana* spirit. Words such as burro, mosquito, poncho, and matador are now standard English.

The names of many automobiles—Granada, Pinto, Seville, Cordoba, Mustang—reflect the excitement and romance of Spain, at least according to the Madison Avenue public relations men. The fact that many products carry Spanish names is an indication of the positive Spanish influence as seen by the American consumer. In the past fifteen years, there has been a revival of Spanish residential architecture and Spanish-style furniture; these styles have always been popular in the Southwest.[21]

21. For further information, see Zenia Sacks da Silva, "La Hispanidad en Los Estados Unidos," *Noticiero* (11 April 1975).

Classics in America

Introduction

The impact of classical languages, Latin, Greek, and to some extent Biblical Hebrew, and classical culture on our country has come primarily through their predominant role in the pattern of American education in the first two centuries. Facility in the ancient languages by many people resulted in their use in many contexts, some of which are visible today, such as inscriptions and mottoes, names of places and people, and symbols. Familiarity with ancient civilizations resulted in perhaps a more subtle influence. Knowledge of Greek and Roman writers had an impact on the thinking of Colonial Americans and the Founding Fathers of the Republic, who lived when "America was in the midst of her golden age of classical learning."[1] This influence continues in the form of government by which we live 200 years later. Persistent classical traditions in literary themes and style, as well as in the arts and architecture, have left an indelible imprint upon the artistic productions of this country and, more obviously, upon the physical ap-

1. Meyer Reinhold, *The Classick Pages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, American Philological Association, 1975), p. vii.

pearance of our towns and cities from colonial New England villages to great cities and the newer centers of the West. The fibre of our language and the resultant thought processes bear the imprint of the richly Latin and Greek vocabulary which pervades all areas of learning.

Tangible Survivals of Classical Interests

"The USA as a polity and as a civilization would not be what it is today—would probably not exist at all—without the Classics" and, further, "America was the land that took the Classics seriously."[2] So asserted the President of the American Philological Association in addressing the International Congress of Classical Studies at its first meeting in this country in 1964. As a brief but cogent demonstration of the mark that the classical influence has left upon everyday items, he asked the delegates from all over the world to take out a U.S. one-dollar bill and look at it carefully, noting the great seal of the nation on the green side. At the right, the recto of the seal bears the familiar *E pluribus unum*; at the left, the verso shows two mottoes, *Annuit coeptis* and *Novus ordo seclorum*, and the date MDCCLXXVI. The first, "One out of many," from a pastoral idyll attributed to Vergil, had already been singled out as a 'tag line' and had appeared on title pages as early as 1692.[3] The second is adapted from Vergil's *Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis* (Jupiter, all powerful, give your nod to our daring undertakings) asking the favor of the Judaeo-Christian god. The third, from the same author's 'Messianic' eclogue, *magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo*, refers to the "coming of the great cycles of ages, beginning anew (as of a golden age)"—in the view of the Founding Fathers, the 'new order' of liberty for all men in these United States.[4] Symbols such as the eagle (Roman), the lightning bolt (power), and the olive branch (Athenian) are all of ancient origin.[5] Possibly the shape in which the thirteen stars are arranged is that of the Star of David.

The mottoes of some twenty states are Latin (one is Greek)[6]—usually ancient quotations or adaptations thereof—and many state seals are symbolic in terms of ancient classical concepts. Those in the Northeast include:

2. Gerald Else, "The Classics in the New World," *American Council of Learned Societies Newsletter*, 16 v (1965), 2-3.

3. Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 399, 672-73.

4. G.R. Stewart, *Names on the Land* (New York: 1945).

5. Other symbols include the 'fasces' (the bundle of rods and an ax) which appears on older dimes.

6. From a poster available from The American Classical League Service Bureau (Miami University, Oxford, Ohio).

Figure 1

State	Motto	Translation
Connecticut	*Qui Transtulit, Sustinet*	He who has brought us across (the sea) sustains us.
Maine	*Dirigo*	I direct.
Maryland	*Scuto Bonae Voluntatis Tuae Coronasti Nos*	You have protected us with the shield of your goodwill.
Massachusetts	*Ense Petit Placidam Sub Libertate Quietem*	With a sword he strove for peaceful rest in freedom.
New York	*Excelsior*	Ever higher.
Virginia	*Sic Semper Tyrannis*	Thus ever to tyrants.
West Virginia	*Montani Semper Liberi*	Mountaineers are always free.

Public buildings, e.g., the Supreme Court: *Justitia omnibus,* (Justice for all), colleges, and schools, throughout the country are similarly inscribed. All of the older colleges had seals with mottoes in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, e.g., Yale: *Lux et Veritas* (Light and Truth), with the Hebrew word for light on an open book.

Some states and many towns and cities in this coutry bear Greek and Roman names (Virginia) or Roman-style names (Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Pennsylvania). Some changed their former names, as did Vanderheyden's Ferry in New York in 1789 becoming Troy, in deference to its heroic history or to the Trojans who settled in a new land. Thirty other towns were named Troy in succeeding years. New York State is especially rich in classical names of towns, such as Utica, Syracuse, Rome, and Corinth. It is notable that in naming a number of settlements in the military tract around Cayuga Lake, the state Land Commission, whose secretary was a Latin teacher, made liberal use of classical sources, even calling towns after people rather than places—Romulus, Hector, Homer, Tully, Fabius, Pompey, Marcellus, etc. Cincinnati, Ohio, perpetuates the names of a Roman hero who, at the call of duty, left his plow to lead his country's army and returned to the farm after his duty was done. Retired officers of the Revolutionary Army formed a society called the Order of Cincinnati, and the city took its name from them.

Thus, names of people and places, Latinized words, and even names of those English towns which were once Roman *castra* (camps) becoming in time Chester, Worcester, Lancaster, Manchester, etc. appear in many parts of the country. Old Testament names are also to be found, especially in New England. Connecticut, for example, has Bethel, Lebanon, Goshen, Gilead, Bethany, Hebron, and Caanan. From Lebanon, New Hampshire, to Mt. Carmel, Alabama—or for that matter from St. George, New York, to St. Augustine, Florida—these names remind us that, though the land was at first savage, its civilization had roots in Rome and Greece, as well as England and the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

Not only places but also people shared classical reflections. Many learned men, and some not so learned, writing articles, letters, or essays for newspapers, signed

themselves Cato, Publicola, Junius, Epaminondas, etc., in imitation of those heroes whose names had become household words. One of the most popular pseudonyms was the name of the last great defender of the Roman Republic, Cato, who had been popularized in Cato's *Distichs* in school books, in Addison's tragedy *Cato*, a very popular theater piece in the eighteenth century, here and in England, and in *Cato's Letters*, the work of the British Whig writers Trenchard and Gordon, whose ideas were so popular that the *Letters* were reprinted in papers on this side of the Atlantic.[7]

In all widely read Colonial newspapers, classical and Biblical quotes, pithy, moral, philosophical, appropriate to the day, were a commonplace. Almanacs,[8] which naturally drew upon classical astronomy, reflected much ancient lore, tradition, and myth. There were many beside Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which had as its motto *Sapiens dominabitur astris* (The wise man will be master of the stars) and drew heavily upon the moral proverbs of Publilius Syrus for quotations.

Buildings which bear Greek and Roman mottoes, in towns with classical names, reflect one of the several eras of classical influence in architecture—Colonial, Revolutionary, or Greek Revival. Not only public buildings, state capitols, and collegiate buildings, but private homes as well, in external design and furnishings, physically reflect an aura of classical orientation so prominant in the early days of our country.

Another manifestation of the role of the classical languages in everyday life was the use people made of Latin abbreviations and quotations on gravestones. Not an old cemetery but yields many samples of this.[9] Very frequent is the *AE.* or *AET.* (*aetatis*, denoting the person's age), and *Anno Dom(ini)*. Some inscriptions are wholly in Latin, most are part Latin, part English; some have Greek or Hebrew words. Notable among the latter, on the grave of Governor Bradford, second governor of the Plymouth Colony (who had taught himself the language), is a Hebrew inscription "The Lord is the Light (Strength) of my Life." The prevalence of such commonplace items is a manifestation of the degree to which Americans of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and on into the nineteenth century, were steeped in classical and Biblical languages and learning. Their continuances and survival act as a constant reminder to us today.

7. Richard Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 13-14.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-8, 128.

9. Contributed by Sara Cowan, Deering High School, Portland, Maine. See also "Suggestions for Classroom Implementation."

Classics in Education

The influence of the Classics, not only on commonplace items, but also on the development of the institutions embodying our political, ethical, and aesthetic traditions—the very life of our country—stems in large part from their role in education from the earliest Colonial days in America.

When the Puritan leaders in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, many of them graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, "determined on the indispensability of an educated clergy and corps of public officials, they instinctively turned to the traditional curriculum of the English schools, placing *litterae humaniores* in the service of Church and State. Immediately, attacks were mounted by Puritan fundamentalist opposition . . . the debate raged for a generation. . . . In the end, the Classics and theology were reconciled in Puritan New England, with the understanding that the function of classical learning was to serve as a utilitarian means of enhancing godliness, but in strict subordination to the primacy of Scriptures."[10] (There had been a strong leaning toward Hebrew on the part of Pilgrims and Puritans. They thought of themselves as Christian Israelites and may even have patterned the celebration of Thanksgiving after Sukkat.[11])

As a result, a number of grammar schools and colleges were established, beginning with the Boston Latin School (1635) and Harvard College (1636). The nine pre-Revolutionary colleges and the numerous grammar schools in New England and the other original colonies "offered the youth who attended them a type of education that was uniform and standardized. Although a few extras crept into the curriculum by degrees, providing an occasional choice of subjects, the Greek and Latin languages were the passwords for admission into colleges and for progress to the bachelor's degree. Beyond the elementary stage they were the main academic diet"[12]—granting of course, especially in the first century or so, the primacy of Scripture and the inclusion of courses in the Hebrew Old Testament.

At the elementary stage an atmosphere of religion was all pervasive.[13] The early textbooks for teaching reading and writing, the *Hornbook* and the *New England Primer*, were scarcely more than adaptations from the Bible, containing, of course, the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and various favorite passages. Ciphering also was added to the elementary fare and there was always much emphasis upon deportment. Very soon a smaller number of boys began the study of Latin in the Latin or grammar schools, for the main task here was regarded as training youth "so as to fit them for the college."[14]

10. Meyer Reinhold, "Utilitarianism and the Classics in Early America," paper delivered at the 1972 meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa.

11. Bernard Postal, "Hebraic Tradition in Colonial America," *Pioneer Woman* (April 1975), 5.

12. Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

13. Colyer Merriweather, "Our Colonial Curriculum, 1607-1776," Diss. Washington 1907, p. 38.

14. A Massachusetts statute of 1647 required all towns to establish schools to teach reading and writing "so that youth should be trained in all scholasticall, morall, and theologicall disciplines."

The elements of Latin were taught first by the direct method and brief dialogues in the tradition of Commenius (perhaps the first person in Europe to use an illustrated text), and by memorizing brief moral quotations (using Corderius as a seventeenth-century source). Also favored at the early stages were Latin versions of Aesop's *Fables*.[15] Grammar rules, upon which much emphasis was placed, were learned from such texts as Ezekiel Cheever's *Accidence: A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue* (first published in England in 1708, then in America, and circulated in many editions to 1838) and John Clarke's *An Introduction to the Making of Latin*, 1742 (which were improvements on the old standard, Lily's *Grammar* of 1523). Rules and forms were memorized; they were practiced by writing Latin sentences, usually with a Latin vocabulary given in a parallel column to the English which was to be translated.[16]

Figure 2

John Clarke (1687-1734) *An Introduction to the Making of Latin*
1st Worcester edition from the 24th London edition
Printed 1786 in Worcester, Mass., by Isaiah Thomas

CHAPTER XII*

Verbs of abounding, wanting, filling, emptying, loading, unloading, depriving, robbing, spoiling, govern the Ablative.

Verba abundandi, implendi, Etc.

HE that wants Virtue, wants all Things.	QUI careo virtus, careo omnis.
We see some Men abounding with Money and Wealth, yet do desire those Things mostly with which they abound.	Video quidam homo circumfluens pecunia opesque, tamen desidero is maxime qui abundo.
The Romans deprived the Carthaginians of all the Isles which they held in the Mediterranean.	Romanus spolio Poenus omnis insula qui teneo in mare Mediterraneus.
Men abounding with Wealth are often puffed up with Pride.	Homo affluens divitiae saepe effero fastidium.
After he had taken the Enemy's Camp, filled with Plenty of all Things, he gave all the Plunder to his own Soldiers; and chiding the consular Army and the Consul himself, he says, You shall go without your Part of the Spoil of that Enemy, to which you yourselves were nearly a Prey.	Postquam capio hostis castra resertus copia omnis res, do praeda omnis miles suus, et increpans consularis exercitus, et ipse Consul, inquam, careo pars praeda ex is hostis, qui tu ipse sum prope praeda.

*Used through the courtesy of the Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.

15. Reinhold, *The Classick Pages*.

16. Mary Ann Yost, "Classical Studies in the American Colonial Schools: 1635-1776," *New England Classical Newsletter*, 4 (April 1975), 36-44.

Undoubtedly there were many excellent (and quite a few dull) schoolmasters in the Colonial era. One of the best known and most distinguished was Ezekiel Cheever, who was associated with the Boston Latin School from 1670-1708, both as teacher and as Headmaster. In his eulogy, pronounced by Cotton Mather, that illustrious alumnus claimed that "in the grateful memory of his scholars there have been, and will be, hundreds [of statues] erected for him."[17] He was thorough, original, and had high standards—a progressive who taught 'Latin without tears.' His manuscript log of 400 pages contains copies of ancient masterpieces, experiments in Greek and Latin verse, and critical comments.

The Boston Latin School program of his day included reading Cicero's orations, Justinian, the Latin and Greek New Testament, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, dialogues on Godwin's *Roman Antiquities*, turning Psalms into Latin and, on the Greek side, Isocrates, Homer, and Hesiod. A great deal of the reading was reinforced by exercises in dictation, extensive memorization, and English to Latin composition. Thus were the entrance requirements for Harvard readily met, wherein students were expected to "understand Tully, Vergil, or any such classical authors and readily to speak or write true Latin in prose and have skill in making Latin verse, and be completely grounded in the Greek language."[18]

Requirements were similar at other universities and remained the same over a period of about 175 years.

We know that Hebrew was a part of the Harvard curriculum from the time of its first president, John Dunster, and that the Classics figured extensively from 1636 on. The first recorded Harvard curriculum, in 1723,

> required a youth of about fourteen or fifteen years, as a freshman, to recite the classical authors learned at school (Tully, Vergil, Isocrates, Homer, the Greek Testament, and Cat chism), and to study rhetoric, Hebrew, logic, and a bit of divinity, history, and natural science. The second year he pursued logic, Greek, Hebrew, ethics, philosophy, and also divine studies, history, and natural science. In the third year, logic, physics, ethics, geography, metaphysics, divinity. In the senior year, geometry, astronomy, arts, grammar, logic, and natural philosophy (physics).[19]

Texts in all courses were in Latin. There was continuous practice each year in debate and defense of theses in Latin. The culmination of this training, uniform for all students, was in the presentation of formal theses at Commencement.[20] There were some changes during the eighteenth century; instruction moved from the British tutorial system to the assignment of a professor for each subject; newer texts were introduced, still chiefly in Latin; a few subjects were added to provide some

17. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
19. Merriweather, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
20. James J. Walsh, *Education of the Founding Fathers of the Republic* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1935), pp. 72-73.

choices: Hebrew courses remained but were less prominent, except in the education of the clergy.

The defense of theses in Latin remained a feature of the college program even as new subjects were added and the curriculum was somewhat liberalized. A reflection of the shift of interests can be seen in the theses, first with the inclusion of topics not of a religious nature, such as medical and scientific topics, and, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, with a strong trend toward political topics.[21]

> The emphasis on imitation of classical style, as uniquely useful for training in writing and speaking, and with heavy reliance on memorization, in time constituted the most important of the utilities of the Classics for educated Colonial Americans. It served to train clergy and political leaders who were skilled in disputation, in the niceties and flexible use of language in public speaking, and equipped them with a large store of memorized *exempla* in the moral and political spheres which came readily to their tongues and pens.[22]

The desire for practical training in vocational skills needed to conquer the frontier had begun to be expressed in the early eighteenth century, but "throughout that century it remained merely a national mood" and a topic of discussion, rather than action; "it was never formally articulated in a systematic way."[23] A few vocational schools, such as that of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, were established; some died or were modified. It remained for the nineteenth century to develop this concept, along with the advent of compulsory, free education, the process of assimilation of immigrants, and meeting the problems of the industrialized cities and the settlement of the West. In the same period came a gradual liberalization of the college curriculum with many other areas growing up alongside the Classics, the introduction of Germanic standards of scholarship, the divorce of education from ethical and moral training, the gradual elimination of Latin as the medium of teaching (except for lingering use in collegiate and seminary institutions of the Roman Catholic Church), and the use of English as the medium of instruction, with a basic vocabulary transferred directly from Latin.

Some echoes of the Latin tradition linger in the texts of college degrees, many of them still in Latin and read in the original at Commencement, in Commencement orations (the Princeton Salutatory of 1966 was in Latin), and in honorary degree presentations (D.D. Eisenhower's from Trinity College in Hartford in 1954). Wesleyan University, among many founded in the nineteenth century, continued long after its beginning in 1845 to have at least one Latin oration, the Salutatory, on its Commencement program.[24]

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67, 260-61.

22. Reinhold, *op. cit.*

23. *Ibid.* See also his "The Quest for 'Useful Knowledge' in Eighteenth-Century America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 119, ii (March 1975).

24. Many examples of such documents may be found in the archives of colleges and universities.

Figure 3

PRAESES ET SOCII UNIVERSITATIS YALENSIS
IN NOVO PORTU IN RE PUBLICA CONNECTICUTENSI
OMNIBUS AD QUOS HAE LITTERAE PERVENERINT
SALUTEM IN DOMINO SEMPITERNAM
NOS PRAESES ET SOCII HUIUS UNIVERSITATIS

AMPLIORIS HONORIS ACADEMICI CANDIDATUM AD GRADUM
TITULUMQUE PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORIS ADMISIMUS
EIQUE CONCESSIMUS OMNIA IURA PRIVILEGIA INSIGNIA
AD HUNC HONOREM SPECTANTIA
IN CUIUS REI TESTIMONIUM HIS LITTERIS UNIVERSITATIS
SIGILLO IMPRESSIS NOS PRAESES ET SCRIBA
ACADEMICUS SUBSCRIPSIMUS

SCRIBA PRAESES

A.D. IX KAL. IUL. MDCCCCXXXVII

Classical Influence on the Revolutionary and Constitution Periods

Perhaps one of the most important questions to be considered is the degree of influence the classical training of the eighteenth century had on the thinking and actions of the men who established the political foundations of this nation and wrote its Constitution. No better example of the interrelationship of education and action can be found than in the career of John Witherspoon, President of Princeton University from 1768-1794, a man accomplished in the academic, clerical, and political fields.[25] He came to this country with an Edinburgh degree and clerical service in Scotland. Besides achieving academic leadership, he had a political career consisting of twelve years in the Continental Congress and the legislature of New Jersey. He is also the only clergyman whose name appeared on the Declaration of Independence.

As an educator, Witherspoon made Greek and Latin a functional part of the nation's literary style and a vital element in training for the pulpit and public

25. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-75.

service. He showed his classical leanings in his first Commencement Address: "The remains of the ancients are the standards of [literary] taste."[26] He recommended a combination of natural talent and acquired skill for the complete orator with Pericles (as represented in Thucydides), Demosthenes, and Cicero as ideal models; he also valued the straightforwardness of Livy and the plainness of Xenophon. Cicero's dictum *Omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent habent quoddam commune vinculum* (All the arts that concern humanity have a certain common bond) was the 'last word.'[27] His lectures discussed some of the topics later debated by the political leaders of the day, setting them to speculating on current issues and applying the ideas of classical thinkers. Small wonder that political theses dominated the Commencement programs in these years.

Quite evidently, President Witherspoon's lectures had a wide influence on Princetonians who served well the Revolution and the young United States. Besides James Madison, his graduates numbered ten cabinet officers, thirty-nine congressmen, twenty-one senators, twelve governors, thirty judges (including three on the Supreme Court), and fifty members of state legislatures.

Indeed, one of the remarkable features of the leaders during the Revolutionary and Constitution-making periods was their high level of education. There are some fairly well substantiated claims that along the eastern seaboard, in the well-settled areas, basic literacy ran as high as ninety percent. While the college-educated segment of the population was small, it was extremely well represented in the political leadership of that day, as the Princeton figures indicate. Also, twenty-seven of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence were college graduates, as were twenty-three of the thirty-nine Constitution signers.[28] Others in each of these groups had studied law in London or were self-educated with high levels of attainment in ancient languages and wide reading to their credit.

The Classics provided a common body of reading and information for the majority, so it is natural that concepts gained from ancient writers or classically-influenced Enlightenment writers had a direct impact on the ideas, discussions, and accomplishments of the Founding Fathers.

S.E. Morison in his history of Harvard says:

> College men in general and Harvard men in particular bore such an important part in bringing and carrying through the American Revolution that some direct connection between patriotism and the curriculum has been suggested. . . . It was the Classics that made Harvard men of that day effective in politics and statesmanship. . . . In Plutarch's *Lives*, the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, and ancient history, young men saw a mirror of their times; in Plato's *Dialogues* and Aristotle's *Politics* they learned the wisdom to deal with men and events.[29]

26. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
27. Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta*, Chapter I.
28. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 66, 75.
29. Samuel E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 135-36.

Their reading in and thoughtful consideration of the Classics was eminently practical and purposeful, focusing as it did upon the moralists, political philosophers, and historians:

> It contributed substantially to the motivation of a concentrated group of political giants unparalleled in the history of the world. The influence of Classics in America reached its acme in such political and intellectual giants as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. The latter exhorted himself in 1789, "Labour to get distinct Ideas of Law, Right, Wrong, Justice, Equity. Search for them in your own mind, in Roman, Grecian, French, English Treatises . . ." A host of lesser luminaries also acknowledged the American debt to the Classics. For example, in 1766 Jonathan Mayhew, in a Thanksgiving sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act, testified to his personal indebtedness: "Having been initiated, in youth, in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, and Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients, and such as Sidney and Milton, Locke and Hoadley among the moderns, I liked them; they seemed rational . . ." But it is Jefferson who towers above all the others as the advocate par excellence of the Classics. [We see this in his commonplace books, where he copied out at length passages that fitted into his varied and comprehensive interests, choosing from a wider range of Greek and Latin writers than most eighteenth-century men read,] . . . in his letters and other writings, especially those dealing with education, in his advocacy of Classics and science for 'his' University of Virginia. He stands out as the 'last great humanist' and as a true product of the Age of Reason. In a personal letter he has expressed eloquently his delight in reading Greek and his appreciation for the early education which put this into his possession: "I would not exchange it for anything."[30]

To sum up, "For Americans the mid-eighteenth century was truly a neo-classical age . . . the high point of their classical period. Such classicism was not only a scholarly ornament of educated Americans, it helped to shape their values and their ideals of behavior."[31]

The Classick Pages, published in 1975 by Meyer Reinhold (one of the leading present-day classical scholars to give serious attention to research on Classics in early America) contains a collection of the 'favorite reading' of eighteenth-century Americans. The selection is based on contemporary discussion in various publications and in personal letters, in debates on the constitution, Federalist Papers; on known contents of public and private libraries, library orders and lists, booksellers' records, books donated to colleges, etc. These texts, given in popular translations, reflect the attitudes of the time and reveal the material which provided eighteenth-century readers with food for thought.

In all their reading, ancient history was a central interest to many; the leaders were saturated with it. It was to them 'the lamp of experience.' They were in the tradition of the first and most enduring of the major views of history, namely, history as philosophy teaching by examples.

30. Meyer Reinhold, *The Classick Pages*, pp. 2-3, 19.

31. Gordon Wood, *Creation of the American Republic: 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p. 49.

> It had, after all, the longest and most respectable lineage; it had the magisterial authority of the greatest of ancient writers; it had the immense advantage of combining morality with art, literature, and philosophy. That the function of history was moral was the conclusion of Thucydides and Plutarch, Tacitus and Livy, and most of their successors until modern times. "What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable," wrote Livy, "is this, that you behold the reasons for every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result." Of all philosophies of history it is the one that has endured longest and that has exercised the greatest influence on the thought and the imagination of man.[32]

The ancient historical works most frequently read by the adult population were Plutarch's *Lives*, Tacitus, Sallust, Polybius, Thucydides, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Diodorus Siculus. "Their search for guidance and parallels from antiquity served two purposes: they increased their sense of legitimacy and dignity by linking their private and political lives with a cultural ancestry reaching back into antiquity; and they thereby tested their own innovative views on the building of a new society and a new man by the criteria of the ancient republics and ancient heroes as ideal models. Knowledge of the great republics of the ancient world had utility for the present issues: they were the fountains of liberty, of republican forms, and civic virtues, as epitomized in the great classical heroes."[33]

Even when the frame of reference for the Founding Fathers was Enlightenment writing, historical or philosophical, the impact of the Classics was still evident.

> Indeed, the rediscovery of the ancient world was not an American enterprise but an Enlightenment one. The Enlightenment as a whole looked to the ancient world, studied its history, read its literature, imitated its art and architecture, cultivated its philosophy, and, in theory at least, embraced its political principles. This was the education of all who had any education: the churchmen, the artists, the lawyers, and the statesmen. There was nothing remarkable about the American fascination with the ancient world; it would have required explanation had the generation of the Founding Fathers turned their attention elsewhere.[34]

The ancient traditions are evident in the seventeenth-century Locke whose considerations deal with natural law—a concept as old as Greek philosophy—with the function of government, and with the importance of property; in Bolingbroke who wrote on the uses of history in a fashion paralleling Livy and on the concept of the patriot king, similar to Plato's philosopher king; in the Continental

32. Henry S. Commager, *Jefferson, Nationalism, and the Enlightenment* (New York: G. Braziller, 1975), pp. 125-26.

33. Reinhold, *op. cit.*, p. 18. The phrase 'lamp of experience' is the title of a book by H. T. Colburn on the Whig influence on the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).

34. Commager, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

European writers such as Montesquieu and Burlamaqui to whom the Americans also looked; most of all in the popularizing Whig works which had a wide appeal.[35]

> Because the American sought nothing less than "a comprehensive knowledge of history and of mankind" and believed that if they were successfully to resist tyranny "they ought to be well versed in all the various governments of ancient and modern states," it is not surprising that the intellectual sources of their Revolutionary thought were profuse and various. "Let us study the law of nature," said John Adams, "search into the spirit of the British constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome; set before us the conduct of our own British ancestors, who have defended for us the inherent rights of mankind against foreign and domestic tyrants and usurpers." . . . It seemed indeed to be a peculiar moment in history when all knowledge coincided, when classical antiquity, Christian theology, English empiricism, and European rationalism could all be linked.[36]

Part of the congeniality of the ancient writers to the American Revolutionaries lay in the expressions of love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, never so vigorously expressed as by those who have seen the loss of freedom and the entrenchment of tyranny. Cicero, who saw the demise of the Roman Republic he had labored all his life to save, bitterly attacked the dictatorial aims and the turn to one-man rule, as promoted by Mark Antony, and lauded the greatness of the old days. Sallust assailed the luxury and corruption to which he attributed the decay of the Republic in its later days. Livy painted a glowing portrait of the stalwart characters of the early Republic—the farmer-soldier, a hardy and vigorous patriot. Plutarch's *Lives* set forth in vivid detail the good, old Romans and the evil promotors of slow-shed during the ruthless rise to power of ambitious military men like Sulla and Caesar. Tacitus bitterly portrayed in terms of blackest tragedy the vices of the Caesars and mourned the destruction of the liberties of old.

All these ancient authors struck a responsive chord in those Americans who sought to escape what they viewed as tyranny. The high-minded phrases were constantly quoted in the pamphlets and speeches attendant upon the first stages of our Revolution. The Americans, however, did not forget that Rome and the Greek city-states had perished as republics or democracies, and they sought to assess the reasons and causes so as to avoid the pitfalls and achieve a lasting good.

> From these kinds of antique writings, filtered and fused into the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the Americans had learned "the melancholy truth" about the ancient republics "that were once great and illustrious, but are now no more" and had used their knowledge in their diagnosis of the ills of the mother country in the 1760's and 1770's. "Similar causes will forever operate like effects in the political, moral, and physical world: those vices which ruined the illustrious republics of Greece, and the mighty commonwealth of Rome, and which are now ruining Great Britain, so late the first kingdom

35. Excerpts from these writers can be found in Wilson O. Clough, *Our Long Heritage: Pages from the Books Our Founding Fathers Read* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

36. Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

of Europe, must eventually overturn every state, where their deleterious influence is suffered to prevail." The history of antiquity thus became a kind of laboratory in which autopsies of the dead republics would lead to a science of social sickness and health matching the science of the natural world. It was not the force of arms which made the ancient republics great or which ultimately destroyed them. It was rather the character and spirit of their people. Frugality, industry, temperance, and simplicity—the rustic traits of the sturdy yeoman—were the stuff that made a society strong. The virile martial qualities —the scorn of ease, the contempt of danger, the love of valor—were what made a nation great. The obsessive term was luxury, both a cause and a symptom of social sickness. This luxury, not mere wealth but that "dull . . . animal enjoyment" which left "minds stupified, and bodies enervated, by wallowing forever in one continual puddle of voluptuousness," was what corrupted a society: the love of refinement, the desire for distinction and elegance eventually weakened a people and left them soft and effeminate, dissipated cowards, unfit and undesiring to serve the state. "Then slumbers that virtuous jealousy of public men and public measures, which was wont to scrutinize not only actions but motives: then nods that active zeal, which, with eagle eye watched, and with nervous arm defended the constitution . . . Thus, before a nation is completely deprived of freedom, she must be fitted for slavery by her vices." Republics died not from invasions from without but from decay from within.[37]

Out of numerous strands, many of them clearly traceable to the ancient authors and chosen, no doubt, to suit the prevailing attitudes, there was woven into a consistently patterned fabric a concept of a republic and its society. But nowhere is the influence of the study of Greek and Roman political and historical writers more evident than in the analysis of both political philosophy and actual experience which was done by the writers of our Constitution; nowhere is it more significant for our lives today, since they established the framework of the government under which we now live.

Aristotle in his *Politics*[38] distinguished three basic types of government: monarchy, the rule of one; aristocracy, the rule of a few; *politeia,* the rule of the many, the body politic, the state, the republic. There is a good version of each and a corruption of each: tyranny, in which the good of the one is the sole object; oligarchy which considers only the rich; democracy which considers only the poor. None of these is directed to the good of the entire citizenry.

In other contexts Aristotle gave democracy a better name as having the broad aim of freedom for all. He also expressed some favor for aristocracy as the rule of the best, who have the good of the whole 'politeia' as their goal. He further suggested that each form may learn from the other and so avoid the degeneration which leads to revolution and a succession of changes from one type of constitution to another.

Polybius[39] made the same basic distinctions, tracing in detail the cycle of degeneration and change from good to bad through each type of constitution, with

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

38. Book III *passim*, especially Chapters VII and XI (old numbering 1279-1295); Book IV *passim*, especially Chapters II and IX-XI.

39. *Histories*, Book VI.

anarchy as the debased form of democracy leading back to monarchy as the cycle begins anew. He demonstrated this empirically with examples of Greek city-states. For him the best type of constitution, least likely to lead to frequent change and revolution, was that which provides a mixture of the three power sources to the point that it becomes difficult to give the government a name, since no one element dominates, but all three are in balance. He then gave a detailed analysis of the constitution of the Roman Republic at its best in the second century B.C. to show how it achieved this mixture and balance of magistrates, senate, and assemblies.

Among the Romans, Cicero followed the same trend and expressed the same preference for the mixed constitution, saying; *statu esse optimo constitutam rem publicam quae ex tribus generibus illis, regali et optimati et populari* ([I consider] that government to be established on the best constitutional foundation which is made up of a combination of those three types [mentioned before] —monarchial, aristocratic, and democratic) and *Ita se res habet ut . . . possit ex temperatione juris . . . teneri ille moderatus et concors civitatis status* (The situation is such that a controlled [balanced] and harmonious constitution of a state can be maintained as a result of a moderation [balance] of basic power [on the part of the various components]).[40]

These analyses were used constantly as a basis by writers on government who advocated a mixture and balance of power. They underlay the political theories of Enlightenment writers, beginning with Harrington in his *Oceana* in the previous century and continuing to mid-eighteenth-century works of Locke of Sydney, and in Pufendorf's *Jus Naturae et Gentium;* Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* was especially cited by Americans for the precept of separation of powers; Burlamaqui's *Principes du Droit Naturel* enunciates the basic concept *Salus populi suprema lex* (The welfare of the people is the highest law).[41] These men as well as the ancients were read and discussed by the framers of the American Constitution.

Many of the basic presentations of theories on government from ancient and contemporary sources were gathered by James Wilson in a text which he prepared for the use of the Constitutional Convention delegates.[42] John Adams, in *Defense of the Constitution,* published at the time the Convention was assembling, stated his philosophy in this matter:

> . . . power is always abused when unlimited and unbalanced . . . Simple unchecked government is always despotic, whether it be government by a monarch, by aristocrats, or by the mass of people. All are equally intolerant, cruel, bloody, oppressive, tyrannical. The only sound and lasting government is one so balanced that ambition is made to counteract ambition, power to check power. The great art of lawgiving consists in balancing the poor against the rich in the legislature, and in constituting the legislative a perfect balance against the executive power, at the same time that no individual or party

40. Cicero, *De Re Publica,* II 41; *De Legibus,* III 28.

41. Clough, *op. cit.,* has selected passages from each of these writers.

42. Gummere, *op. cit.,* p. 176. See also Bird Wilson, ed., *The Works of James Wilson* (Philadelphia, 1804).

> can become its rival . . . The executive and the legislative powers are natural rivals; and if each has not an effectual control over the other, the weaker will ever be the lamb in the paws of the wolf. The nation which will not adopt an equilibrium of power must adopt a despotism. There is no other alternative. Each of the three branches, executive, upper house and lower house, acts as a check on the other. Each is independent and absolute, and exercises an absolute veto or negative to every law. There can be no stability or freedom without balance, and there can be no balance without three separate powers.[43]

John Corbin put it neatly, "The theory of our Constitution derives from Aristotle, and was put into successful practice in ancient Rome, in eighteenth-century England, and in our early state constitutions, before it was given its most perfect embodiment by the Convention of 1787."[44]

Busy with the practical work of setting up a Constitution, the Founding Fathers felt the need of putting theory to the test of empirical verification. Examination of the history of the Greek city-states and the Roman Republic revealed the reasons why these structures became unbalanced in favor of one or another self-seeking group. The perspective thus gained guided the setting up of the three branches of government in the U.S. Constitution—executive, judicial, and legislative—and reinforced the insistance upon separation and balance of powers.

One of the greatest problems confronting the framers of the Constitution was the relationship of the separate states to the Federal government. Examples of federations of states were relatively few; among the Greeks, were the early religious Amphictyonic League, the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues of the Hellenistic Age, and the League of Lycian states in Asia Minor. The Dutch and Swiss states were almost the only contemporary examples. The constitutions of these states were closely analyzed to help determine ways by which American states could be brought together without risk of losing the liberty so recently and dearly bought in the Revolution. The ancient leagues had been thoughtfully considered during the decade before the Revolution and their virtues praised by such men as John Dickinson, writing as 'The Pennsylvania Farmer,' and Alexander Hamilton. George Washington is said to have had an outline of the constitution of the Lycian League among his personal papers.[45]

The pros and cons were summed up in number eighteen of *The Federalist Papers*.[46] Madison and Hamilton felt that the Amphictyonic League, which has several points in common with the Articles of Confederation, had some good points in its organization, but that it did not work out as intended. Because the representatives were appointed by the member states rather than by vote of all the people, the powerful members vied for influence, dominated the others, and

43. George A. Peek, Jr., ed., *The Political Writings of John Adams* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954), p. 106.

44. Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Originally published in *Saturday Review of Literature* (20 December 1930), p. 180.

45. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81.

46 Clinton Rossiter, ed., *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, 1961), pp. 122-28.

could not be effectively punished for violations of agreements. Ultimately this led to foreign intervention and domination.

The Achaean League had a closer and better organization. The member states retained their internal independence; the senate representing all had charge of foreign relations; it elected a chief magistrate who administered the affairs of the League and commanded its armed forces. Its organization was successful for a considerable time and might have persisted much longer but for the existence of a rival league (Aetolian) and large, independent Greek states (Sparta and Athens). Jealousies among these rivals led to their seeking aid from outside, stronger powers (the Hellenistic kings) who ultimately reaped their own advantage until the day of the military domination of Rome over all of the Greek states.

Paper eighteen concludes, "I have thought it not superfluous to give the outlines of this important portion of history, both because it teaches more than one lesson and because, as a supplement to the outlines of the Achaean constitution, it emphatically illustrates the tendency of federal bodies rather to anarchy among the members than to tyranny in the head." [signed] *Publius*

The analysis suggested the remedies needed in the Articles of Confederation: dealing directly with the citizenry, establishing a federal judiciary, and unifying all thirteen states to gain the size and strength essential to create stability, eliminate rivalry among separate groups of states, and obviate the need of appeal to other powers for intervention in disagreements among them. Thus was the analysis of ancient history used creatively to forge a new government in the light of experience by correcting, if possible, the errors of the past, not imitating it in a slavish fashion. As a result, "they created the first workable federal system in history and endowed it with power to grow and expand without serious difficulty; and fixed effective limits on government thus created—separation of powers, checks and balances, bills of rights, and judicial review. Thus they solved, at one stroke as it were, those problems of government that had perplexed statesmen and philosophers since Pericles."[47] They made it evident that "they saw the American experience, in part, as a political renaissance of the ancient world, indeed as the culmination of the history of the ancient republics."[48]

In fact, their keen sense of history extended beyond a sense of relationship to the past to a sense also of obligation to repay the gifts of the past by setting an example to the human race, contemporary and future.

> They were ready to fulfill that mission which they fondly believed History had imposed upon them. What happened to that deep sense of obligation to the past that animated most of the Founding Fathers, the obligation to preserve the heritage of civilization from Judea and Greece and Rome . . . ? What happened to the deep and passionate sense of fiduciary obligation to posterity which animated all the Founding Fathers and admonished them to pass on their heritage intact to their descendants . . . ?[49]

47. Commager, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
48. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx.

> The heritage is a perennial possession . . . The permanencies have not been dissolved . . . There inheres in the classical tradition a political and moral calling, an injunction to consider and reconsider the ways in which virtue and justice are a part of our being and the necessary basis of any future happiness for mankind . . . We do have a responsibility . . . to reassess and reinterpret the tradition . . . We must undertake it . . . in our capacity as free men who have something uniquely valuable to share with others in the building of a free humanity.[50]

Latin Writing in America

The world of Rome, especially Republican Rome, was the one above all of the past with which the Founding Fathers felt a kinship; they felt at home with its ideals and way of life. It has been said, half in jest, that they would have felt at home in a toga. Plans were even made to portray them in that garb.[51]

Given the pervasive atmosphere of classicism, it is not altogether surprising that someone decided to write a full-length biography of George Washington in Latin.[52] This was done by Francis Glass, born in Ireland in 1790, who had come here at an early age, had been educated at the University of Pennsylvania, and who then moved to the 'western country' and taught in a small school near Lebanon, Ohio. His star pupil, Jeremiah Reynolds, who had sought him out as tutor in lieu of returning to college, became sufficiently interested in the *Vita* to procure funds for Glass, who was poor and in ill health, to move to Dayton and devote full time to the project. With the writing barely complete Glass died in 1824, but Reynolds, who then held the copyright, finally was able to have it published in 1835.

It was popular enough to go through three editions and some reprints and won warm praise by a number of outstanding classical scholars, college presidents, and other prominent persons, among them John Quincy Adams, Jared Sparks, and Edgar Allan Poe. Modern scholars have also given it their approval, feeling that, though the Latin is not classical, the *Vita* has a pleasing quality of directness and clarity. While there are some errors of grammar, the style is vigorous and lucid, the contents comprehensive but succinct. Glass wanted "to advance the literature of the U.S.A. by imparting to youth a taste for reading the life of a great man, written in a foreign language."[53] This *Vita Georgii Washingtonii* will appear shortly in paperback.

50. Else, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
51. Gummere, *op. cit.*
52. Personal communication from John Latimer, 5 October 1975.
53. From the "Peroratio," *Vita Georgii Washingtonii.*

Figure 4

Vita Georgii Washingtonii

Caput Quintum

(Milites suos jussis generalibus affatur Washingtonius.—Colonias foederatas, liberas, supremas, suisque viribus innitentes esse decernit Congressus.)

Washingtonius nil, quod milites ad hostes lacessendos impetumque Anglorum fortiter sustinendum alacres paratosque redderet, praetermisit; rationemque omnem animos patriae amore incendendi, irasque in hostes suscitandas, expertus est, jussis generalibus sic eos affatus: "Tempus instat, quod, liberi an servi futuri sint Americani; utrumne quidquam, quod proprium dici possit, habituri; an domus agrosque hostes impune invasuri et direpturi; perbrevi dijudicabit. Infinitae multitudinis nondum natae, ex hujusce exercitus virtute, fatum pendebit. Hostes immites et inexorabiles nobis praeter fortis renixus, aut servitii turpissimi, optionem, nil reliqui fecere."

. . .

Congressus constantia civium animos ardore repleverat: Senatus ille audax, mensis Quintilis die quarto, anno millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo sexto ab Christo nato, colonias foederatas Americanas, LIBERAS, SUPREMAS, SUISQUE VIRIBUS INNITENTES ESSE decrevit.

Chapter Five

(Excerpts: Washington's general orders; the Continental Congress decree.)

Washington overlooked nothing which would render his soldiers ready and eager to assail the enemy and bravely withstand an attack of the British; he tried every means of firing their minds with love of country and arousing their wrath against the enemy, addressing them thus in his 'general orders:' "The time is at hand which will shortly determine whether Americans are going to be free or slave, whether they are going to have anything that they can call their own; or whether their enemies are going to invade and plunder their homes and farms without fear of reprisal. The future destiny of an uncounted multitude, yet unborn, hangs upon the courage of this very army. A relentless and inexorable enemy has left us naught but the choice between brave effort and the basest servitude."

. . .

The steadfast support of Congress had also fired the courageous spirits of the citizens: that bold senate decreed, on the fourth day of July in the year 1776 A.D. that the federated American colonies were "free, sovereign, and reliant upon their own resources."

A somewhat later (1864) collection of Latin biographies of famous Americans, written by N.C. Brooks, then president of a 'female college' in Baltimore, contains some 200 pages, covering fifty-five lives, composed in a bookish style and somewhat reminiscent of Latin prose composition courses.[54] Hopefully, this collection will appear in its entirety, or selected *Vitae* will appear in some of the classical journals.

Another publication, highly appropriate to the Bicentennial, is forthcoming. Professor Leo Kaiser of The University of Chicago is putting out a collection of

54. These *Vitae Virorum Illustrium Americae a Columbo ad Jacksonum* include such persons as William Penn, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, John Paul Jones, Alexander Hamilton, Nathaniel Greene, Daniel Boone, Robert Fulton, and a number of others. Unexpected and interesting is the inclusion of DeSoto, John Smith, Lafayette, Baron von Steuben, Kosciusko, Count Pulaski, and Baron deKalb.

American Latin Poetry 1625-1825 containing 130 or more selected pieces.[55] It may well contain William Morrell's *Nova Anglia*, a 300-line 'epic' on New England, the Virginia epic *The Golden Horse Shoe*, and items similar to the following examples.[56]

Various individuals of prominence wrote Latin verse as an avocation, among them Judge Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts. His diaries, a storehouse of political and social material, loaded with classical references, also contain various 'occasional' Latin poems, puns, elegies, and this epithalamium for the marriage of a friend's daughter in 1724:

Parvula cognatum conscendis epistula Montem
Connubiique faces Splendentes visere gestis.
Et Sponsum et Sponsam iubeo syncere salutes;
Perpetua vigeant conjuncti prole beati
In mare dum currunt Hudson Carolusque profundum![57]

(O my little letter, you are ascending the Hill where my relatives live. You are yearning to see the shining wedding torches. I bid you greet with full heart the Bride and Groom. May they flourish in harmony, with offspring who will carry on the happy tradition, as long as the rivers Hudson and Charles run to the sea!)

A true master of Latin and considered the most brilliant classicist of his time, James Logan was a man active in three spheres of interest.[58] As an administrator, he served both as secretary to Penn's colony in 1699 and as acting governor in 1736-38; he contributed to early scientific writing; but probably he most enjoyed his classical studies. His library (now intact in the hands of the Library Company of Philadelphia) was the most extensive, in classical writers, of any man of his time; he had also the distinction of being the first American translator, publishing his version of Cato's *Distichs* in 1735 and Cicero's *De Senectute* in 1744. A good example of his personal lyric style in Latin is this lament for his infant daughter.

Sis licet in teneris abrepta parentibus annis,
Vita exempta prius quam videare frui;
At patris et matris pleno praecordia tangit
Ictu discessus, cara puella, tuus.[59]

55. Personal communication from John Latimer, 1 October 1975.
56. See Marie Cleary, *Boston's Latin: Latin Selections from the Freedom Trail* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), p. 28; and Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
57. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 122-25.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

(Though snatched away in childhood from thy home, removed
from life before its joys were thine, thy parents, dearest
daughter, weep thy going as deeply as the human heart can feel.)

Many more verses of quality are scattered through notebooks, journals, newspapers, and periodicals. It will be a real contribution to have a representative group gathered in a single volume.

One continuing evidence of pleasure in the Classics has been the making of Latin translations of well-loved tales which were originally written in English or other modern languages. An outstanding example of this effort to please young people and spur their interest in Latin is found in the work of Arcadius Avellanus.[60] Born in Hungary in 1851, where, due to the multiplicity of vernaculars, the educational system of that century still operated in Latin—even the daily talk of the students in the gymnasia—he brought to this country a fluency in oral Latin, an ease in coining words for new things, and a penchant for storytelling. (His name is a Latinized version of Mogyorossy Arkad.)

His love of spinning tales in Latin for the children of friends found fruit in translations of *Treasure Island, Robinson Crusoe, The Adventures of Captain Mago,* and a collection of shorter *Fabulae Divales* such as Cinderella, Aladdin etc., published as the "Mount Hope Classics," under the patronage of Mr. E. Parmelee-Prentice of Williamstown, Massachusetts. Avellanus' style is that of a modern speaker and writer of Latin, drawing freely on the Roman Imperial period; it is not Ciceronian. Also, during his teaching career, he edited the *Colloquia* of Corderius with his own additions, published *Fabulae Tusculanae* (readings) and *Palaestra* (a teachers' method book), and put out a periodical, *Praeco Latinus,* devoted to furthering the concept of Latin as a language of international communication.

His oral fluency led naturally to regular meetings with friends who enjoyed talking Latin over dinner, meetings which expanded to a group of about twenty called the "Societas Gentium Latina Intabulata," which included many outstanding Latin teachers in the New York City area in the early 1900's. The *protocolla* or minutes of these meetings show that the discourse covered a wide range of subjects and opinions. Goodwin B. Beach, who attended the group's celebration of Avellanus' eightieth birthday, concludes his article on the man with this sentiment, *Ipso igitur in pace requiescente, ex ossibus ejus, instar phoenicis, exoriantur propugnatores aeque fideles, aeque intrepedi*[61] (While he himself rests in peace, may there rise from his bones, like the phoenix of old, champions, equally devoted, equally intrepid).

One is struck at once by the resemblance of the writer, known as 'Bonamicus Actensis,' to the man he was describing in commanding appearance, manner, interests, and above all in fluency in Latin as a viable means of communication. Mr. Beach has demonstrated over a lifetime his avocation of Latin speaking and writ-

60. Goodwin B. Beach, "Arcadius Avellanus," *The Classical Journal* (May 1940), 505-10.
61. *Ibid.*, 510.

ing, at dinners, with a small group of equally fluent friends, with Hartford Latin teachers, in a global correspondence, personal greeting cards, prize-winning essays, stories for students, sharing an 'everyday' Latin vocabulary with enthusiasts in his *Glossarium Linguae Latinae*, in the publication of *Petrus Sclopetarius* (Pistol Pete),[62] and in the posthumously forthcoming tale of his African safari. Here are one of his poems and a Trinity College colleague's tribute.[63]

Oratio

O, Domine Iesu, Quo nascente, benevolis
  Coelestes angeli cecinerunt hominibus
In terra pacem, iam nunc hominum in
  pectora
  Odiis laborantum, mala perpetientium,
Humiles, istam, rogamus, pacem infundito.

B. Acensis scrip.

A Christmas Prayer

O, Lord Jesu, at Whose birth
The Heavenly Choir sang: Peace on earth
  To men of good will,
O'ercome with hate, fordone with ill
Our hearts we pray thee now to fill
  With that sweet peace.

Trans. Goodwin B. Beach

Vita Bonamici Actensis

Bonamicus Actensis, Philosophiae Doctor, honoris causa, subito mortuus est quarto die ante Nonas Maias, anno Domini mille et nongenti septuaginta quinque, novem et octogesimo aetatis anno. Natus Hartfordiae, ibi vitam egit. Ad gradum Baccalaurei in artibus Universitatis Harvardiensis admissus, negotia suscepit in quibus auctor prudentissimus de damnis iacturisque, faenore dato, praecavendi et pecuniae collocandae factus est. Sed semper, negotiis contemptis, literas et linguam Latinam esse amorem principem habebat. Atque postquam se ab negotiis removit, ab Collegio Trinitatis Sanctissimae inducere discipulos ut Latine loqui et scribere discerent vocatus est. Quod igitur aliquot annos fecit. Lector emeritus in Collegio Trinitatis Sanctissimae factus, deinde ut praeceptor Latinae in Collegio pro Feminis Hartfordiensi nonnullos annos docebat. Latine loquebatur et scribebat quasi sermonem patrium. Ad hoc accedit quod cohortabatur ut Latina universa lingua fieret. Et porro ad coetus domi suae conducebat discipulos Collegi Trinitatis Sanctissimae qui Latine

Goodwin B. Beach

Goodwin Beach, Doctor of Philosophy, *honoris causa*, died suddenly on May 4, 1975 at the age of 89. A native-son of Hartford, Dr. Beach lived his entire life in the Hartford area. After graduation from Harvard he entered the business world in which he served as an executive in the insurance and investment business. Despite his many years in business, he always considered the Latin language and literature his first love. And so after retirement from business he was asked by Trinity College to teach students to speak and write Latin, which task he performed for some years. After he became Lecturer Emeritus at Trinity College, he next assumed for several years the position of teacher of Latin at the Hartford College for Women. He wrote and spoke Latin as if it were his mother tongue. In addition, he advocated Latin as a world language. Furthermore, he conducted seminars in his home for Trinity College students who were learning to converse in Latin. Internationally known for his studies and publications in Latin, he addressed in Latin the meetings

62. *Glossarium* and *Petrus* (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Seminary Foundation).

63. John Williams, delivered in September 1975 at a meeting of the Connecticut Section of the Classical Association of New England.

loqui discerent. Clarissimus omnibus in gentibus propter studia sua et scriptiones Latinas, Latine alloquebatur multos conventus societatum doctarum et in patria et Europa. Ex multis ei honoribus admissio ad gradus Philosophiae Doctoris, quem ab Universitate Ledesiae accepit, magnopere ei placebat. Multos annos in rationibus argenti ducendis adiuvabat Philologorum Americanorum Societatem. Sua recensio annua et sumptuum et lucrorum damnorumque ab omnibus acriter atque studiose accipiebatur. Nam eadem semper reddita est carminibus Latinis!

Cum se iterum in otium se reciperet (id est, a docendo), tamen studium rerum classicarum sustinebat. Licet oculorum acies defecerit, in mente animoque remanebat firmus et valens. Usque ad tertiam diem ante mortem ephemeridem, Latine scriptam, itineris Africani quod abhinc tres annos is et uxor fecit recognoscebat.

Hic homo nobilis et litteratus disertusque, qui erat multis modis extra suum aevum, requiescat in pace atque eius memoria nobis vivat.

of many learned societies both here and in Europe. Of his many honorary degrees he was most pleased with the one from Leeds University in England. For many years he assisted the American Philological Association in the conduct of its finances. His financial report at the annual meeting was received with anticipation and joy, for it was always presented in Latin and in verse!

After his second retirement (i.e., from teaching), he nevertheless continued an active interest in things classical. Even though his eyesight was failing, his mind was alert and vigorous. Up until three days before his death he was editing a journal he had kept in Latin of a safari to Africa which he and his wife took three years ago. May this gentleman and scholar, who was, in many respects, outside of his age, rest in peace and may his memory live long for us.

John C. Williams

Some of the poetry of another writer of Latin, John Colby, a gifted writer of stories for boys and of poetry, is both humorous and lyrical.[64]

Drink Canada Dry

Exiguis bullis vivescit Canada Sicca,
ac veluti surgunt effervescente liquore,
cum primum gustare soles spumantia vina,
bullae quae simulant crebro se pungere fauces,
sicacibus multis Liliputanisque sagittis,
zingiberis latices linguam stimulare videntur;
vimque dabunt nobis animosque ad sidera tollent.

Haec loquitur Crassus, quo non praestantior alter
voce ciere viros artemque docere bibendi.

Tiny bubbles make it lively—Canada Dry,
they rise to the top in the effervescent liquid,
as when first you taste sparkling wine,
ebullient—the bubbles seem to make little stabs at your mouth,
with hundreds of tiny daggers and Lilliputian arrows,
with tangy zest they titilate the tongue,
give us pep and raise our spirit to the sky.

Thus speaks Crassus—and no one surpasses him
in rousing men with his words and teaching them the art of drinking.

64. John K. Colby, *Imagines* (Andover, Mass.: John Colby, 1964).

Christmas Rose

In nivali tempore	In the time of snow
silvae refrigescunt.	the woods grow cold.
Maerenti sub arbore	Under the weeping trees
folia quiescunt.	the leaves grow still.
In hiberno frigore,	In winter chill,
candida, nivosa,	bright white, snowy,
matris terrae pectore,	on the breast of the mother earth,
fulget Christi rosa.	glows the Christmas rose.

To these may be added the flurry of translations of the 1960's of *Winnie, the Pooh, Alice in Wonderland,* and a dozen others,[65] in reasonably good Latin, which do interest the young and give nostalgic pleasure *to their* elders.

Classical Architecture

"I was written to in 1785 (being then in Paris) by Directors appointed to superintend the building of a Capitol in Richmond, to advise them as to a plan, and to add to it one of a prison. Thinking it a favorable opportunity of introducing into the state an example of architecture in the classic style of antiquity, and the *Maison quarrée* of Nismes, an ancient Roman temple, being considered as the most perfect model existing of what may be called Cubic architecture, I applied to M. Clerissault, who had published drawings of the Antiquities of Nismes, to have me a model of the building made in stucco, only changing the order from Corinthian to Ionic, on account of the difficulty of the Corinthian capitals." So wrote Jefferson in his *Autobiography.*[66]

Little did he realize that his design, of modest intent, for the completion of the Virginia capitol would begin a half-century mania for neo-classical architecture. In many places it quickly replaced Colonial style, which had reflected some adaptations of classical motifs in pillars, columns, windows, and doorways of the more elegant buildings. For both public structures and private homes, there was widespread and enthusiastic adoption of the motifs of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns, colonnaded porches, rotundas, elaborate friezes, and pediments.

65. See "Suggestions for Classroom Implementation."

66. *The Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson: A Biography in His Own Words* (New York: Newsweek, 1974), p. 157.

The reasons for this willing adoption of classical architecture, especially Greek, are indeed many, but the true explanation may be no more than the straightforward, honest, and simple desire of a newly liberated populace to express in tangible form one of the primary ideologies which sustained its victorious revolution. Fiske Kimball in *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* states the case:

> The Revolution brought a fundamental change in American domestic architecture, as in American art as a whole. How little this has been appreciated is shown by the extension of the term 'Colonial' to cover all the work to 1820 or even later. The rank and file of builders, to be sure, continued to work at first, as we have seen, in much the same style as before, but the leaders were inspired by very different ideals, and these were rapidly diffused through the craft. Chief of them was the ideal of classical form. This involved much more than the *adoption of* the delicate *Pompeian detail of the* Adams; its ultimate goals were the unity and abstract quality of classical ensembles: the temple and the rotunda. Simultaneously with this formal ideal came the ideal of modern convenience, which had originated in the France of Louis XV. In the interplay of these two lies the key to the evolution of the American house during the first sixty years of the republic. So far as they were in conflict, the issue in America was less a reconciliation between them than a triumph, in all its absolutism, of the formal, classic ideal.
>
> The underlying reasons for change lay in political and cultural movements of the time, which could not fail to have far-reaching consequences in art: the transformation from colonies in provincial dependence on England to sovereign states soon welded into a nation, whose alliance lay with France. So far as America borrowed from contemporary art, she turned now less to England than to the Continent. There was not so much a transfer of allegiance, however, as a declaration of independence. The new states and the nation were republics, that regarded as their models not the monarchies of western Europe but the ancient democracies of Rome and Greece. In art also it was natural to turn to the classic forms of antiquity, which took captive the new republic more firmly than any of the older nations of Europe.[67]

This development is true of painting and sculpture but is much more evident to the average person in architecture. Once started, classical architecture spread its influence at a feverish pace in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. What little was known of the classic ideal in pre-Revolutionary handbooks was now witnessed firsthand by world-trading merchants and world-traveling architects. Their inspiration is seen today from the nation's Capitol to modest, private dwellings on a New England village green, like that of Grafton or Hopkinton, Massachusetts, in dozens of towns like Geneva, New York, or on southern plantations and the mansions of South Carolina.

At times the influence of the Greco-Roman ideal was subtly and carefully interwoven with other inspirations; one of the best examples is Federal Hall in Philadelphia. Most frequently, the influence was an eclectic combination of several Greek and Roman models, as in the numerous designs in the United States Capitol

67. (New York: Dover, 1966), p. 145.

competition or Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1798. Occasionally, the influence is direct and usually borrowed from such giants of antiquity as the Parthenon, Erectheum, and Pantheon. Enthusiasm for these even ran to the erection of an exact replica of the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee. Thomas Jefferson's admiration for the Pantheon is evidenced in his use of it as a model for the University of Virginia and Monticello, and more recently echoed in the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Although the day has long passed since classical architecture or 'Greek Revival Architecture' were considered to be 'modern' styles, nevertheless, each contemporary American is indebted to the inspiration of the classical ideal as made visible by the founders of the Republic and their first generation offspring. One can only name a few of the lengthy list of examples, which includes such structures as the record offices of Charleston, South Carolina, and Salem, Massachusetts; the Customs House of New Bedford, Massachusetts; the Athenaeum of Providence, Rhode Island; the Exchange, United States Mint, and the Branch Bank of the United States in Philadelphia; a countless number of college and university buildings.

The entire public building area of Washington, D.C., begun in the heyday of the classical revival, has evidenced a continuing adaptation of Greek and Roman styles, beginning with the Capitol, White House, and Treasury Building. Among the more beautiful examples, some of them fairly recent, are the Supreme Court Building, Lincoln Memorial, Library of Congress, National Archives, National Gallery, and the Jefferson Memorial mentioned above.

Today we would be hard-pressed to travel a short distance without witnessing the awe inspiring solemnity of federal, state, and local buildings, banks, civic and memorial centers, college libraries, residence halls and dormitories, columnar memorials, athletic colossea, and churches raised in pride with the vision of the heritage of Greece and Rome.

Classical Influence on Literature and Language

One of the most pervasive and continuous aspects of classical influence in America is its impact on American writers of stature. This is also one of the most difficult to analyze, as it consists not merely in allusion or reference to the ancient world, but in the influence of form and content which is at once more extensive and more subtle. It requires a book on style to demonstrate it in detail; it is most noticeable in the early poets, such as Anne Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, and Philip Fresneau,[68] the speech makers and letter writers of the eighteenth cen-

68. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-60.

tury, Emerson and Hawthorne of the Romantic period, less in the early 'Realists,' noticeable again in poets such as Stephen Vincent Benét, Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, etc. Nowhere is the influence more striking than in the plays of Eugene O'Neill, notably *Mourning Becomes Electra* and *Desire Under the Elms,* which have a close relationship to Greek tragedy and to myth as symbol. Indeed, one of the most pervasive influences is that of myth, not only in superficial and decorative sorts of ways, but as the basic of the artistic expression of a wide range of sculptors, painters, dramatists, novelists, and poets.[69]

It is therefore of more than passing interest to realize that myth has constituted a viable symbol to Americans from an early date. Much sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writing has spoken of America as the golden land of the West,[70] the lost Atlantis, a Garden of Eden (it was not unusual in the earliest times to mix Biblical and classical concepts), and many writers and leaders had likened the brave sailors who reached that goal to Argonauts who ventured over the seas to an unknown land in true heroic spirit.[71] Is it a paradox that once more myth has caught the imagination of many contemporary writers?

An even more dominant influence, affecting all of us every day of our lives, is the matter of Latin and Greek elements in the vocabulary of English. The words we use leave their mark on our thought processes. To what extent does the fact that some 80% of our vocabulary is Latin and Greek in origin affect the attitudes we have and the way we think? Most linguists agree that the part of our thinking that goes beyond instinctive emotional reaction is necessarily verbalized, either in the thought process or in the expression of it and the communication of it to others; therefore, the verbal framework must limit and channel the very process of thinking.

Edward Sapir says, "Thought may be defined as the highest latent or potential content of speech." Of the interaction of thought and language he says, "The instrument makes possible the product; the product refines the instrument." Further, "The thought world is the microcosm that each man carries around with himself, by which he measures and understands what he can of the macrocosm."[72] Benjamin Lee Whorf's hypothesis is, "A man's world outlook is determined by his linguistic upbringing."[73]

Sapir makes a distinction between the form and content of language, asserting that the content (vocabulary) is what is related to culture. The dominance of Latin derivatives in our vocabulary then indicates a deeply pervasive influence on our culture.

69. See Highet, *op. cit.*; C. M. Gayley, *The Classic Myths in English Literature and Art* (Boston: Ginn, 1911); Philip Mayerson, *Classical Mythology in Literature, Art, and Music* (Lexington, Mass.: Xerox, 1971); and Michael Grant, *Myths of the Greeks and Romans* (New York: New American Library, 1962).

70. Gummere, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

71. Martin D. Snyder, "The Hero in the Garden: Classical Contributions to the Early Images of America," paper presented at a conference on Classics in America, 30 October 1975, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

72. *Language* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949), pp. 14ff.

73. Simeon Potter, *Language in the Modern World* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960), p. 172.

Since we no longer conduct higher education in Latin, we are no longer quite so steeped in Latinisms as were our Colonial ancestors, for whom, because of their education, it was easier and more natural to transfer a Latin term to an English form than to work out an Anglo-Saxon-based term. Yet we have continued the process they began, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, creating new vocabulary out of Latin and Greek elements in all areas of learning, technical matters, and new inventions and processes.[74]

'Flammivorous' and 'ignivorous' are out of date, but 'omnivorous' and 'carnivorous' are in good standing; 'polypiety' remains a curiosity, 'polytheism' is a respectable term in religious history; 'vericular' is no longer seen, but 'verity' is familiar enough; 'Plebsbyterians' did not catch on as a play on 'Presbyterians;' we never hear of 'preterpluralities,' yet many things are 'super' from markets to superfluous items. These are but random samplings from hundreds of examples.

Today we like making hybrid words from combined Greek/Latin sources—or combining one of these with English or other elements—and we like to use mythological figures in adding to our language as we add to our experiences and inventions. 'Astronauts' (Latin sailors among Greek stars) set off for the unknown, like the Argonauts of old, propelled by 'Titan' and 'Jupiter' rockets on 'Apollo' missions to 'lunar' sites. Scientists descend in 'bathyspheres' to study 'submarine' 'biology.' We have 'television' for 'viewing from a distance' as we earlier invented 'telegraphy' for communication from afar. Students of language deal in 'phonemes' and 'morphemes,' as well as the older elements of 'syntax' and 'lexicon.' 'Megaphones' and 'telephones' are commonplace. One could go on indefinitely. A striking example from the pens of the Founding Fathers perhaps sums it all up. In the Preamble to the *Constitution* only the italicized words are not classical in origin or formation.

> *We the* people *of the* United States, *in* order *to* form *a more* perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide *for the* common defense, promote *the* general *welfare, and* secure *the blessings of* liberty *to ourselves and our* posterity, *do* ordain *and* establish *this* constitution *for the* United States *of America.*[75]

74. Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

75. A poster of the Preamble illustrating this point in color may be obtained from The American Classical League Service Bureau.

Horizons

Introduction

Our ethnic heritage is defined by the status of various groups in our culturally pluralistic society. A look at our immigration history and a review of events and trends in our immediate past can assist in shaping our horizons. The long-awaited federal support of bilingual-bicultural education and of ethnic heritage education is an example.

The following figures present some of the factors involved in assimilation and the relative position on the continuum of assimilation of selected groups.

FIGURE 1
The Assimilation Variables[1]

Subprocess or Condition	*Type or Stage of Assimilation*	*Special Term*
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

1. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 71.

FIGURE 2

Paradigm of Assimilation[2]

Applied to Selected Groups in the United States-Basic Goal Referent: Adaptation to Core Society and Culture

Group	*Type of Assimilation*						
	Cultural	*Structural*	*Marital*	*Identificational*	*Attitude Receptional*	*Behavior Receptional*	*Civic*
Negroes	Variation by class	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Jews	Substantially Yes	No	Substantially No	No	No	Partly	Mostly
Catholics (excluding Negro and Spanish speaking)	Substantially Yes	Partly (variation by area)	Partly	No	Partly	Mostly	Partly
Puerto Ricans	Mostly No	No	No	No	No	No	Partly

Bilingual Education

In 1967, Senator Ralph Yarborough introduced a bilingual education bill in Congress which passed, in modified form, as an amendment to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The psychological impact of this act cannot be overstated. It reversed a one-language policy and committed the national government to meeting the educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States. The act provided financial assistance to local educational agencies for:

(1) Bilingual educational programs;
(2) Programs designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their languages; and
(3) Efforts to establish closer cooperation between the school and the home.

This commitment by the federal government has slowly influenced states and local communities. Since 1968 several states have passed laws mandating bilingual education at the local level.

Bilingual-bicultural education represents a viable approach toward meeting the needs of non-English speakers. It involves subject-matter instruction in the child's native language and often also in English. Bilingual-bicultural education

2. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

helps provide viable instructional programs for children as they develop literacy in two languages. It also involves the study of two cultures and provides the norms, values, attitudes, and skills consistent, not only with their new environment, but also with their native culture. In such programs, children develop and maintain self-esteem and pride in both cultures. Bilingual-bicultural education also establishes a basis for equal opportunity within the community and among all people. It advocates respect and understanding among all groups.

Effective teacher preparation is vital to the success of these programs which place heavy responsibility on the concepts of accountability and parental involvement.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program

The description of this program, as provided through an amendment to Title IX of ESEA of 1965, is:

> The Ethnic Heritage Studies program seeks to develop intercultural understanding within our culturally pluralistic society. More specifically, the aims of the program are to help students learn more about the nature and role of ethnicity in their own lives and in the lives of others and to promote effective interactions among members of the various ethnic groups in the United States . . .
>
> Proposals that are most attentively and creatively designed to enable people 'to learn more about the nature of their own heritage and to study the contributions of the cultural heritages of other ethnic groups of the Nation' are specifically encouraged and will be given high priority. No project will be approved that fails to take into account 'the heterogeneous composition of the Nation,' as stated in section 901 of Title IX, and 'the fact that in a multi-ethnic society, a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace.'[3]

Conclusion

The Bicentennial Era provides us with an aegis under which to carry out the theme of 'a nation of nations' or 'unity in diversity.' It is perhaps one of the greatest voids of our time and history that we Americans have ignored the multi-

3. "Ethnic Heritage Studies Program: Guidelines for Application, September 1975," mimeo (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1975).

cultural involvement in the formation of our country. We must become aware of the large quantity of material about and by ethnic groups and individuals—geographical descriptions, local histories, short stories, journals—that are available for use in teaching language and culture. Foreign language teaching becomes more meaningful when students can relate to the development of American, family, community, and ethnic history. It is, despite these gaps, worth time and energy as teachers of foreign languages and cultures to direct students' attention to the varied dimensions of the immigrant influence on American society and its contributions to American social history.

One of our greatest challenges as foreign language teachers today is to develop a better understanding of what America was, is, and might become by carefully guiding the student through the original foreign culture and the immigration of that culture to America. Such an approach has the potential of awakening a greater awareness of the immediate world our students live in, an awareness which ideally will lead to greater tolerance and understanding of diverse peoples in our diverse culture.

Suggestions for Classroom Implementation

Ethnicity in the Community

INTRODUCTION

Most urban areas in the United States have self-contained ethnic communities. These neighborhoods provide a number of ethnically authentic businesses that can be interesting to the foreign language learner.

As an example one might use Hartford, Connecticut, and its Spanish-speaking community. Here are restaurants, newsstands, barber shops, beauty salons, garages, and stores selling clothing, furniture, and specialties typical of the ethnic culture. In addition there are social clubs, political organizations, and professional service agencies that belong to the people of the ethnic group.

ACTIVITIES

Tienda de Abarrotes; supermercado. Go to one or more of the following food stores:

Barranquitas Market, 169 Main Street;
Cawy Super Market, 271 High Street;
Ortiz Super Market, 1671 Main Street;

and select three fruits, vegetables, or canned items which you do not recognize. Find out the name, the cost, and the use of each. Bring back a sample of the item most frequently used in Puerto Rican cooking—if possible. Determine which American foods are very popular in the store, e.g., Hostess Twinkies, hotdogs, Coca-Cola, etc.

Panadería. Visit an ethnic bakery such as Los Cubanitos at 57 Park Street. Using the money collected in class, select a variety of pastries that the bakery clerk or owner suggests as being popular with the people in the neighborhood. Ask what the pastry is called and what its ingredients are, and write down this information.

Try to obtain a recipe for one of the items so that the class can prepare some at a later date. See if you can watch the bakers at work. Find out the Spanish words for: mixer, to beat, to crumble, to blend, to bake, or any other expressions that seem interesting. Write these down.

Tienda de Discos. The following record shops offer merchandise of special interest to the Spanish-speaking community:

El Disco de Oro, 385 Main Street;
Morales Record Shop, 275 High Street;
Latin Record Shop, 239 Main Street.

Look at the list of the 'Top Ten' records and write down the names of the songs. Purchase the number one hit (a 45 RPM record) and bring it back to class. Determine whether the store sells more Spanish-language songs than English-language songs. Compare this with the number of Spanish and English songs among the 'Top Ten.'

If someone in the store is willing to assist you, try to understand all the words of a popular song and write them down. Find out what you can about the singer and where the record was made.

Try to obtain the record *Qué bonita bandera* or the Puerto Rican anthem, *La Borinqueña* (make sure it is sung and not an orchestration). Purchase that record with money the teacher gave you for the school record collection. See if the store sells sheet music for this record and the number one hit, so that the words and chords will be available to those in the class who play instruments.

Botánica. Stores that specialize in herbs are common to many ethnic cultures. The Botánica Chango is located at 811 Park Street. Go there and find out what kind of store it is. Determine the use of at least four items sold here that are unfamiliar to you. Purchase a sample item that costs no more than one dollar and bring it to class. Be prepared to talk about it in class.

Ascertain how customers come to select merchandise from this store. Do they use these items everyday—as one would use food products? Do they receive advice from specific members of the community as to which products to buy? Compare notes with your classmates and determine whether or not your family uses any of the items that are unknown to your friends.

Iglesia. Every ethnic community has its own churches. The Iglesia del Sagrado Corazón is located at 49 Winthrop Street. Try to talk to the priest, Padre Segundo Las Heras, and find out about the special programs the church offers the community. Consider attending a Spanish mass. Who else attended with you? Was it crowded? Were there more men or more women at the mass? What was different from what you had expected?

Determine whether or not the church offers any language courses; are these to teach Spanish or English? What other subjects are taught? Write down a list of the courses offered along with the times they are given. Bring this to the classroom. See if you can get classmates to volunteer as English tutors for elementary school children.

Asociaciones de la comunidad. Choose one of the following service associations:

La Casa de Puerto Rico, 96 Wadsworth Avenue;
Asociación Dueños de Negocios Puertorriqueños, 98 Wadsworth Avenue;
Club de Damas Puertorriqueñas en Lucha, 59 Park Street;
Caminemos Adult Learning Center, 69 Park Street.

Go to the association you select and determine the types of services it offers to the community. Write these down. Do all of the workers speak both Spanish and English? Where does the money come from to support the association? Do they accept volunteer help; would your class be able to assist them?

If the association has blank forms in Spanish, bring back two or three samples for classroom discussion. Make sure the person you talk with at the association understands that your interest in the form is to use it for learning Spanish.

El cine. Spanish-language films are shown at the Lyric Theatre on Park Street. Go to a matinee or to an early show on Friday or Saturday. When do the people arrive? Are there differences in the lobby area, candy counter, or the cinema itself? Make notes of these possible differences.

What film did you see? Where was it filmed? Who were the stars? Was it a double feature? How much was admission? How did you feel about the story, the acting, the photography, and the humor? How did the audience react to different scenes? Make notes when you get home and be prepared to tell your reactions to these questions in class.

Prepare a written review of the film you saw in Spanish that could be used in a Spanish-language newspaper. Or prepare an oral presentation reviewing the film and deliver it to the class.

Joyería. There are jewelery stores located at:

Joyería La Milagrosa, 643 Park Street;
Joyería R. B., 11 Park Street;
Joyería Sánchez, 1339 Main Street.

Go to one of these stores and make a list of the following:

(1) Items other than jewelery that are sold in the store.
(2) Most popular types of jewelery for men and for women that are sold, e.g., gold, silver, turquoise, beads, diamonds, etc.
(3) Spanish names for the popular items sold.
(4) Prices of three different items.
(5) The busiest holiday season, e.g., Christmas, Mother's Day, Easter, etc.

Prepare a poster for the classroom bulletin board using the list you have made.

Escuela. Many communities have bilingual schools. In Hartford there is La Escuelita on Ann Street. With your teacher's assistance, make arrangements to visit the school and sit in on a class. Observe closely and answer the following questions by taking notes:

(1) Where are the teachers from?
(2) Is the class run in a formal or an informal manner?
(3) Is Spanish or English used more?
(4) Are both Spanish and English taught as subjects?
(5) What is the physical plant of the school? Cafeterias, corridors, gymnasium?

Interview one of the students from the class you attend. Get his name, address, number of brothers and sisters, opinion of the city. If he is from Puerto Rico, where did he live on the island and how old was he when he came to the United States? Ask him to tell you a one- or two-line joke in Spanish.

Emisora. There are many Spanish-language radio stations in the Northeast. Two of them near Hartford are WLVH, *La Grande de Conn,* and WRYM *La Voz Latino-Americana.* Make arrangements to visit a station and talk to the announcers. How many people work to produce a show? What are the names of their jobs in Spanish?

Ask for a sample of an unwanted script—commercial, newscast, weather report, etc.—and bring it to the classroom. Be prepared to read the script in class. Do not forget that you may be able to give your names and the name of your school on the air! This publicity will show the community that you and your class are interested in learning Spanish.

DISCUSSION

After the students return from the activities they have chosen, they should report on their experiences in small groups, allowing time for the remainder of the class to ask questions and react. The reports may be written or oral. Some reports lend themselves to the creation of bulletin board displays. If the students are able to take pictures on their trip, this will further illustrate their reports.

Perhaps there are other departments in the school that would find the students' reports interesting. Also, some students may discover local citizens who would be interested in coming to the class and giving a talk about their work.

Popular Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom

INTRODUCTION

Many elements of our culture are based on the contributions of ethnic communities. This fact can be used in the foreign language classroom to show that teaching language and culture is important not only to us but to others outside of our field. Knowledge of the languages spoken by those who immigrated brings us closer to being able to identify with the achievements of these foreign-speaking people. The examples that follow are an attempt to relate the history of ethnic groups with the students' lives of today.

FRENCH EXPLORERS: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

French explorers were very important to the discovery of new regions in the United States. Information in the chapter on Contributions provides a wealth of material to discuss in the French language. Or use materials from sources you already have, such as American history books. Talk about the motivations and activities of all these explorers.

Ask students to list the important predictions in Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea.* They should then research the list and discuss which ones have been realized by modern technology. Assign a group of students to illustrate those predictions that have been realized in a bulletin board display. Some of this work may best be done in cooperation with the science department.

A well-known contemporary French explorer is the oceanographer Jacques-Ives Cousteau. The singer, John Denver, has written and sung the song *Calypso* after living with Cousteau aboard his ship of the same name. Obtain a recording of *Calypso* and transcribe the words or purchase it in sheet-music form. Discuss the key ideas of the song: service of life and the living, searching for answers to questions unknown, part of the growing, light up the darkness, the silent world, learning from the sea. A translation of the lyrics is useful and may be done either by the teacher or a group of students. Supplementary material such a Cousteau's books should be made available for student reading. They are available in French as well as in English. Assign students to write short poems, songs, or reports about some local environmental topic that they feel is important.

THE ETHNICS ON TELEVISION: STEREOTYPES OR REAL PEOPLE?

A growing number of situation comedies and crime dramas on television involve the lives of American-ethnic groups. A decade ago this was seldom the case.

Using the techniques of open discussion, ask your class to list television shows fitting this description, e.g., *All in the Family, That's My Mama, Sanford and Son, The Jeffersons, Welcome Back Kotter,* and *The Bobby Vinton Show.* Ask pairs of students to choose one of the shows from the list you assemble in class and to view

it over the next two or three weeks—separately, without consulting each other. The students should look for and write down examples of foreign language words, gestures, facial expressions, customs, and clothing as they appear on television. Each pair of students should then make two individual reports to the class about their findings, and the class should discuss the importance of the similarities and differences of the two opinions. Are the students' impressions based on stereotypes or reality?

Depending upon the language proficiency of your students, you may choose either English or the language being taught for the students' reports. If the language you teach does not have its ethnic group portrayed on television, you may wish to use other media, such as motion pictures or cartoons.

Questions to be discussed with your students after finishing the reports might be:

(1) What effect can the media have on their audiences in establishing stereotypes?
(2) What effect does one television viewer's opinion have on other people as to what stereotypical behavior is?
(3) What did you learn about your feelings toward stereotypes?
(4) Why do you think television shows about ethnic groups are popular?

Additionally, you may wish to investigate the possibility of having your audio-visual department videotape a show for playback in the classroom. This would allow students to discuss a common experience.

THE IMMIGRANT

At one time or another during the past few centuries most American families have participated in the immigrant experience. Many students or their parents have first-hand knowledge of coming to the United States. The foreign language classroom is one logical place to research and discover the motivation to immigrate and the expectations of those who did so.

A popular song, *The Immigrant,* sung by Neil Sedaka depicts some of the feelings of groups immigrating to a new country. Obtain a copy of the record and transcribe the lyrics, or purchase the song in sheet-music form. Make sure that the students are aware of the metaphorical meanings of such expressions as: harbors open their arms, light of the beacon of liberty, dream boats carried the future, a place by the river, marry his fortune with a handful of promises, and the closed door. Students should illustrate these images for classroom bulletin boards and perform the following assignments.

(1) Research the history of American immigration as described in library books.
(2) Locate other songs with similar messages: *Philadelphia Freedom,* various Dionne Warwick songs, *Preamble to the Constitution* by the Fifth Dimension, *America* by Simon and Garfunkel.
(3) Design a record jacket for *The Immigrant.*
(4) Conduct interviews with immigrants in the community to find out at first hand what their experiences were.

The Origins chapter of these *Reports*, personal interviews, and biographies will yield answers to such questions as:

(1) What prompted people to come to the United States in 1650? 1750? 1850? 1950? Today?
(2) If you were immigrating today from the country whose language you are studying, how would you feel when you arrived? Why?
(3) What is the American Dream? Has it been achieved?
(4) What is the United States' policy on immigration today? Have we always welcomed all immigrants?
(5) Do you know persons who have immigrated? Tell about them.
(6) Do we always accept people with foreign customs? What does this have to do with what is known as the Melting Pot?
(7) Does your family have any special customs that reflect a heritage from another country?
(8) Can you trace the ethnic history of immigrants in your own town or state?

THE METRICATION OF AMERICA

Attempts to use the metric system of measurement in the United States have recently been intensified. Have your students list those terms that they know about and research the reasons for the metrication of measurements in America. Then develop a list of reasons for and against this process.

The metric system is common to most of the countries whose languages we teach. It is used in their literature—from the simplest stories to the longest novels. As schools attempt to expose the student to metric usage, they have rejected the inefficient process of simply converting from the British system to the metric system in favor of having the student create experiences for himself in metric, e.g., a dime is about one millimeter thick and about one centimeter in diameter, a tall man is 190 centimeters high, a dog weighs ten or twenty kilograms, etc. In cooperation with your science department, create activities to be conducted in the language you teach using the metric system. Some of these might be:

(1) Determine the distance in kilometers between two foreign cities.
(2) How many liters of gasoline will be consumed by a foreign compact car in traveling this distance? (Note that gasoline consumption in most European countries is computed in liters per 100 kilometers, and that engine characteristics are expressed in cubic centimeters or liters.)
(3) Discuss a possible weather report for a foreign city in the foreign language. Use such terms as degrees Celsius, millimeters of precipitation, kilometers per hour wind velocity, and millibars of barometric pressure.
(4) Determine the amount of living space in a dwelling in square meters, and compare this to the average space of a dwelling in the foreign country.
(5) Prepare a recipe from a foreign cookbook using grams to measure flour, shortening, and sugar.
(6) Prepare a display showing the quantities used in linear metric measurement. Give sizes in the foreign language for five familiar objects in the classroom.

A Valuing Technique

INTRODUCTION

This technique emphasizes the oral skills. As outlined here, it requires most of a class period and can easily be adapted to the language of any classroom. Examples are given for German, French, Spanish, and Italian, but the same 'you are there' format could easily be developed for any foreign language.

Although the procedure is described first, the teacher should begin with the content or 'you are there' section. A possible follow-up might be discussion of written answers to the debriefing section. Interdisciplinary use of this technique can also prove useful, e.g., as the culmination of a history unit.

PURPOSE

The Valuing Technique requires students to look at events that took place during various American-immigration periods. They are asked to look at the events of those periods through the eyes of the citizens of that time. The procedure is simple:

(1) Brief the students concerning the background of the events using the 'you are there' content format.
(2) Assign decision-making tasks to groups of students.
(3) Report the results of group decisions to the entire class.

ACTIVITIES

After dividing the students into groups of six, allow them five minutes to brainstorm all possible alternatives available to the characters described in the content section. A single student in each group should be appointed as recorder to jot down each idea mentioned. Students should be encouraged to use their imaginations without fear of censure or criticism.

At the end of the five minutes of brainstorming, instruct students to take two minutes to reach a consensus within each group as to which three ideas they consider most plausible. Then assign pairs of students to each of the three alternatives selected, and ask them to list all possible consequences of their alternative. Five minutes should be allowed for this task.

The original groups of six should then be reunited and given three minutes to establish a rank order for their collection of alternative consequences. This will yield a list of possible consequences ranked in order from the most far-reaching to the least important.

A final discussion or debriefing may then be held for ten or fifteen minutes to consider:

(1) What factors were considered in decision making?
(2) What information was helpful? What information made the decision more difficult?
(3) What did you learn about your own feelings?
(4) Would you have made the same decision by yourself?

Particularly interesting alternatives, consequences, and decisions should be discussed by the entire class as time allows.

THE GERMAN PIETISTS GAME: A VALUING TECHNIQUE FOR GERMAN

You are there—in a small village near Mainz, Germany. The year is 1720. Around you, you find a small group of villagers all of whom are Pietists. Of all the countries in Europe, Germany has the greatest number of people who want to start a new life. Political and economic conditions are desperate as the result of a succession of invasions, religious persecutions, and the tyranny of the German princes.

In 1709 some 13,000 penniless Germans made their way to England and lived in the streets of London and Liverpool before emigrating to Ireland and America. The Thirty Years War (1618-48) had killed seventy-five percent of the population, and the provinces along the Rhine had been overrun again and again by the French, the Swedish, the Spanish, and the Bavarians. The Pfalz, where Mainz is located, was left in ruins each time. Louis XIV of France sent his troops again to apply the scorched earth policy to the Pfalz so it would never be a granary for his enemies.

At one time or another almost everyone was subjected to religious persecution. Protestants drove Catholics from their districts, and vice versa. Even more severe persecution was inflicted on the heretical groups of Pietists, Mennonites, Quakers, Dunkards, Moravians, and Schwenkfelders.

Germany was not a nation but a collection of hundreds of tiny states, duchies, and principalities, most of them ruled by petty, self-seeking princes who modeled their behavior after that of Louis XIV. Merciless taxes were levied on the already poor people.

These events and conditions make it clear that you are going to have to make decisions about your future very soon. Escape is possible, if you can get out of the village, down the Rhine to Rotterdam and then to England and on to America. Many of the families trying to do this have small children or aging relatives who find it hard to leave the place where they were born. You have heard of the hardships involved in crossing the Atlantic, in finding decent living quarters, and in locating work in an unknown land. Also, you do not speak English, and your money is limited. If you decide to leave, you will be leaving the land and house that your family has occupied for over two hundred years.

VANISHING HERITAGE GAME: A VALUING TECHNIQUE FOR FRENCH

You are there—in Lewiston, Maine. The year is 1976. Your neighborhood, known as Little Canada, is only a small segment of the city, but it has a population of 2,500 people. Most tourists never discover Little Canada since it seems almost totally hidden among over 30,000 Franco-American inhabitants. It is bounded by the river, Market Street, and Pleasant Street. On a warm night tenement windows are filled with hundreds of people talking with their neighbors across the streets and alleys. Below them are children using the streets for playgrounds.

The architecture of Little Canada reminds one of the famous back streets of Quebec City. The wooden two- and three-story houses are built as close as two feet apart. French is often heard in the open windows and doorways and on the sidewalks, but the speakers are not young people. Those over forty, states one leader of the Franco-American community, speak French fluently, but few of those under twenty speak it well. The culture of those who speak French is a network of clubs with names such as the Raquetteur Club, Saint-Jean-Baptiste-Club, and Maple Leaf Club. The Franco-American League helps to unite them. The Saint Louis Church dominates Little Canada architecturally and religiously.

Although the neighborhood teems with life, it is surrounded by decaying buildings for rent or for sale, vacant lots, empty mill buildings, and the congested streets of a business district. On one side the river flows past topped with brown swirls of industrial waste.

But there is talk of change in Little Canada, and a decision must be made. City planners have recognized the problems of too much traffic; overpopulation; outmoded, deteriorating, or vacant residential and commercial buildings; and the proximity to the odorous river. They also realize that there is no space for recreation and that children must travel through the business district to reach the nearest public elementary school. Although some statistics indicate that a large percentage of the neighborhood is satisfied with living conditions, the city has expressed hopes of having the district become a historic landmark. This would make Little Canada into a tourist attraction complete with French-speaking shops and restaurants and a museum in the nearby railroad station. This section of the city would be identified as the cradle of the Franco-American movement in the city to arouse a sense of pride in its residents' heritage. One member of the city government feels that an official preservation effort would create a pride in the ability to speak French—a pride that he believes does not now exist. The decision that must be made, though, is whether or not a historic landmark can be a neighborhood where people are born, raised, and are really at home.

ENEMIES OF THE STATE: VALUING TECHNIQUES FOR SPANISH AND ITALIAN

Spanish. You are there—in Havana, Cuba. The time is January 4, 1961. You are among a group of Cuban citizens who, because of your political or social position, have been declared enemies of the new regime of Fidel Castro. Castro has

just announced in a speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations that his government has allied itself with the Soviet Union.

The events of the past few months make it clear that you have to make decisions about your future very soon. Among the problems you, your friends, and family have to solve are what you stand to lose if you leave, what Cuba stands to lose if you leave, and what possible alternatives are open to you.

Italian. You are there—in Rome, Italy. The year is 1939. You are among a group of Italian Jews who have been publicly declared enemies of the government because of your Jewish heritage. Until recently your lifestyle has been threatened but not curtailed. There has been increased pressure from Germany on the Italian government to deal with the 'Jewish problem.' Mussolini has begun a policy of harrassment and scare tactics, but he has not yet issued an arrest decree for all Jews living in Italy.

These events make it clear that you have to make decisions about your future very soon. Among the problems you, your family, and friends have to solve are what you stand to lose if you leave, what Italy stands to lose if you leave, and what possible alternatives are open to you.

Historical and Geographical Projects

The following suggestions relate to activities for the Spanish classroom. Teachers of other foreign languages can adapt them easily to projects suitable for the languages they teach.

ACTIVITIES

(1) Which explorers came to the United States on missions for the kings of Spain? Research the dates of their explorations and why they came here.

(2) Report briefly on each of the following. Include any additional persons you may wish.

Columbus	Narváez	Cabrillo
Ponce de León	Cabeza de Vaca	Avilés
Balboa	DeSoto	Onate
Cortés	Coronado	

(3) Prepare a classroom presentation on the search for the lost city of Cibola or the 'Fountain of Youth.'

(4) Prepare a map of the United States showing the paths of the explorers.

(5) Locate cities which have Spanish names. Look up the meaning and explanation of each. Those that begin with *San* or *Santa* were named in honor of

Catholic saints. Your research can also include rivers and mountains that were named by the Spanish.

(6) Find out when, where, and why Spanish missions were founded. Report your findings to the class.

(7) Build or draw a model of a mission, showing its layout and the purpose of each part. Discuss the model in class.

(8) Trace the mission trail begun by the Franciscan friars from Texas to Upper California. Give a report to the class.

(9) Design an interview with an explorer named in (2) above. The interview can be as dramatic, imaginative, and humorous as you wish. Elicit answers that illustrate the history of America.

(10) Using models of a ranch and a house, label the words that have become part of our vocabulary which were originally Spanish.

The Foreign Language Press

INTRODUCTION

One of the primary signs of existence of a nationality or language group in a society has been the support of newspapers and periodicals directed toward that discrete readership. This press is a reflection of the group it serves and fulfills many needs of this group. A newly-arrived immigrant desires news of the new country in which he is living, and he requires assistance in acclimating to his new neighborhood.

The foreign language press serves to maintain cultural ties with the homeland. It also promotes activities and keeps the mother tongue alive. Its major effect is to initiate the immigrant into the everyday life of America. Ironically, this is the first definitive step toward acculturation and eventual assimilation into the new society. The more effective the publication is, the less necessary it eventually becomes.

Despite crises caused by international events, foreign language newspapers have survived with form and content that render them much like any English-language newspaper. There is major coverage of world, national, state, and local issues and happenings; there are sections devoted to financial news, local affairs, sports, crossword puzzles, and advice to the lovelorn. The major difference between foreign language newspapers and English-language newspapers is the heavy concentration on the social activities of the American-ethnic community.

It is interesting to note that there has been a growing number of multilingual and English-ethnic publications throughout the twentieth century. The press has

followed the immigrants' own patterns of transition by assimilating into American life with the first generation (essentially non-English or bilingual), the second generation (often bilingual or Anglified), and the third generation (usually almost completely Anglified). The ethnic press faces a challenge of survival under these conditions, and as Fishman, Hayden, and Warshauer state: "It remains to be seen whether the English-ethnic press and the increasingly Anglified mixed press can learn the secret that ethnicity itself has learned in the United States: to exist and yet not to exist, to be needed and yet to be unimportant, to be different and yet to be the same, to be integrated and yet to be separate."[1]

ACTIVITY

Use a time-line format to show the history of a foreign language press in America. This may be German, Spanish, Franco-American, Italian, or whatever the classroom situation calls for. The time line should cover the entire period of existence of the press in this country—from its beginnings to the present. Include circulation figures, and look for correlations between these and the immigration rates at various times in history.

Procure copies of some of the major daily foreign language newspapers, and investigate with the students the similarities and differences between them and your hometown newspapers. Have students letter mastheads for newspapers they cannot obtain—either from the past or from the present—and prepare a bulletin board display. Many older newspapers will show unique lettering and titles.

Investigate the possibility that extinct foreign language newspapers may be on file in local libraries or museum archives—perhaps on microfilm. If you are successful, photocopy some for informal reading or discussion of their format, content, and objectives—five, ten, or more decades ago. Research the number of speakers of the foreign language in your locality, and discuss the possible future of foreign language newspapers and periodicals in light of the comment quoted above.

Biographical Sketches

Any American ethnic group contains personalities and families that produce material for interesting discussion—in the foreign language—about biographical history. At the beginning levels such activities may be good ways of teaching family relationships, and at the more advanced levels they provide for more intellectual discussion of geography, history, and sociology.

1. "The Non-English and the Ethnic Group Press, 1910-1960," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 73.

LIFE OF A FRENCH-AMERICAN COUPLE: A BIOGRAPHY

Students should read the biography and discuss techniques of gathering similar information from living persons. They may use role-playing and their imagination to construct such a biography. The teacher should ask whether or not the students know of anyone with interesting ethnic backgrounds and must be sure that there is no invasion of privacy.

The Biography

Eva Joblin was born in 1923 in the town of Rennes in Brittany, France. She was the eldest daughter among four children, two of whom died at the age of six months.

Eva's father was a farmer, and her mother was a housewife. She lived one mile from the school to which she walked. Her father died when she was eight years old. Being the eldest girl in the family, her help was needed at home, and she dropped out of school when she was fifteen. Her mother remarried, and the entire family came to the United States when Eva was seventeen years old. In 1941 she took a job as a store decorator and worked fifty hours a week.

Jacques Bienville was born in 1920 near the town of Rennes in Brittany, France. He was the second eldest among seven children. Three of his brothers and sisters died young in a two-year period.

Jacques' father was a farmer, and his mother was a housewife. He lived two miles from the school to which he walked. Since help was needed on the farm, he dropped out of school after two years. He moved to the United states at age twenty, leaving his family in France. Jacques worked in a bookstore and eventually came to New York City where he became an interpreter in 1946. He now works for the United Nations.

Eva and Jacques met on a blind date arranged by a friend during a Bastille Day celebration. They now have a daughter and two sons who have moved as far away as California. All three children are American bilinguals. The couple returns to France every few years for a vacation and to visit relatives.

AN ACADIAN-AMERICAN FAMILY: A GENEALOGY

Instead of concentrating on the lives of a single couple, some students may find it interesting to investigate a family tree. Some living family member should provide the information, or the biography of a famous person may be researched in the library.

The Genealogy. In its beginning, the members of the Violette family were on opposite sides of General George Washington and the pre-revolutionary colonial struggles. Today the family consists of dedicated Americans with members in state legislatures and the judiciary.

Louis Violette married Marie Ledoux. Both were French Huguenots from Ville Jesus Angoulême. Their son, Charles Violette, married Marie David. Charles was killed in 1758 by the English-Americans at the Battle of Louisbourg, but he was survived by a son Francis.

Francis Violette was born about 1749. He was an Acadian who lived through the deportation experience. He settled in Maine in 1791 and died in 1824. Francis'

son and grandson were both born as British subjects in 1774 and 1811 respectively. The grandson, Augustin Violette, died as an American citizen due to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

Augustin's son, Exeas Violette was born in 1858 as an American. He developed a taste for local politics as did his son, Vital Violette. Vital was a farmer, but he built up a meat business into a financially successful enterprise and could afford to become active in state politics. He married Estelle Bossé, lived in Maine, and died in 1966.

One son from this marriage, Elmer Violette, was born in 1928. He married Marcella Bélanger and, like his father, was active in state politics. He was a lawyer by profession and was later a judge, legislator, and senator. He is still alive as is his son, Dennis Violette, who was born in 1946.

Cultural Field Trips

INTRODUCTION

Throughout America a great deal of material in our cities and towns reflects the survival or existence of ethnic influence. This may easily be used to awaken students' interest in the association of language and culture—both ancient and modern—with their own American-ethnic heritage. The techniques described here use classical languages as examples, but an interested teacher will have little trouble transferring the method to the types of cultures that are to be found locally.

THE FREEDOM TRAIL, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

A most useful idea is described by Marie Cleary in her book, *Boston's Latin.*[2] Along the touristic route in Boston known as the Freedom Trail, there are many sites that show the classical influence upon the early days of our country. They range from the motto and seal of Massachusetts and early government documents, to inscriptions, Latin texts, and archives of the Boston Latin School.

Washington, D.C., is another city containing a large amount of material useful for the study of ethnic histories, and similar trails can be developed in almost any area of the country by an interested and aware teacher who 'goes over the ground' locally and prepares background material for the students. Such material will vary, but good sources are typically to be found in state houses with their old records, state and city mottoes and seals, place names, buildings, local antiquarian societies and foreign-language speaking associations, files of newspapers that go

2. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), pp. 16, 20-21.

back to earlier days, colleges, preparatory schools, cemeteries, old churches, and the American sections of museums. Students can share in the research project by taking pictures and collecting other display information on particular sites either in advance of the trip or after it. The word to the teacher and student is *circumspicite*—look around—and see something that is not just in a book.[3]

Old State House, Boston. For the student of Latin, the Old State House in Boston has several interesting objects: two Boston pitchers, a Montleith bowl, and a paint shop sign, all of which are inscribed in Latin. Joshua Pitman owned the two Boston pitchers which are on display. One is decorated with a design of the coat of arms of a shipwrights' group and the other with the design of a ship. Both pitchers bear the symbols, the arm with a trowel, of the Freemasons as well as the following Latin mottoes: *Vide Aude Tace, Memento mori,* and *Sit lux et lux fuit.* The Monteith bowl, named for its inventor, and usually used to cool glasses or to carry them, has an inscription consisting of two participles which make up a motto: *Sustenans, sustentatus.*

The paint shop sign belonged to Thomas Child, who lived at the corner of Blackstone and Hanover Streets and died in 1711. The stone with which he ground the pigments for his paints was also used as the hub of the city—the point from which distances to and from Boston were measured. This is called the Boston Stone and can be seen along the Freedom Trail between the Boston Massacre Site and Faneuil Hall. On the shop sign are the arms and motto of the Honorable Company of Painter-Stainers of London: *Amor queat obediencia.*

Vocabulary that students should study before visiting this site might include:

vide	see (imperative)	*aude* (probably *audi*)	listen (imperative)
tace	keep silent (imperative)	*sustenans*	upholding
sustentatus	(it is) upheld	*queat*	let (*Amor*) be strong
obediencia	(by) obedience		

Statue of Benjamin Franklin, Boston. The Latin inscription on this statue is an example of how an elegant Latin line, like a family heirloom, may be passed down through the centuries, altered a bit here and there, and put to different uses. Manilius, a Roman poet, lived in the Augustan age and wrote about astronomy and astrology. The first book of his *Astronomica* has in it the line which describes the role of human reason in comprehending the universe: *Eripuitque Iovi fulmen viresque tonandi.*

This line was later paraphrased by Robert Turgot, a French contemporary of Franklin. The line, as it now appears on the pedestal of Franklin's statue on the

3. It is possible to make much more extensive use of local resources, especially at the beginning level of language instruction. This has been done in the School District of Philadelphia with the Project of Latin Study in inner-city schools for pupils in grades four through six. The use of local material, along with lessons based on derivation from Latin, oral Latin, songs, etc., has resulted in a very successful elementary school Latin course. Further information on the Philadelphia project may be obtained from Rudolph Masciantonio, Foreign Language Consultant, School District of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

lawn of Old City Hall, is: *Eripuit coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis.* The purpose of Turgot's paraphrase becomes clear when one discovers how much he admired Franklin, his ideas about France's financial situation, and his desire to see privileges taken away from the nobles and clergy leaders. He was finally dismissed from government in 1776 because of his beliefs.

Vocabulary that students should study in connection with Manilius and Turgot before visiting the Franklin statue might include:

eripuit	(he) snatched	*Iovi*	from Jupiter
fulmen	thunderbolt	*vires*	power
tonandi	of thundering	*coelo*	from the sky
sceptrum, sceptre	royal authority		

GRAVESTONE RUBBINGS

Another type of field-trip activity is gravestone rubbing. Sara Cowan of the Deering (Portland, Me.) High School has used this hobby to good educational advantage. She first discovered the techniques in a paperback book. The best stones to rub, and the ones that historians are most anxious to have copied, are of slate with the inscriptions incised. Many of these inscriptions contain Latin abbreviations, e.g., *AE.* or *AET. (aetatis), ANNO. DOM. (anno Domini), D.G. (Deo Gratias,* Thanks to God), *R.I.P. (Requiescat in Pace,* May he rest in peace), *H.S.E. (Hic Situs Est,* Here lies), and *S.M. (Sacrum Memoriae,* Sacred to memory). One will also find complete Latin phrases, such as *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi* (So passes the glory of the world) and *Memento Mori* (Remember one dies).

The teacher interested in taking students to cemeteries for gravestone rubbings should check with the cemetery administration beforehand to obtain access and permission as well as advice about the presence of slate stones. The simplest of equipment and methods are used. Paper may consist of brown wrapping paper, newsprint, rice paper, tracing paper, or even an old piece of bedsheet. One uses ordinary colored crayons, pastels, heel black, or even a handful of moderately dry sod. Unless wax crayons are used, a fixative is necessary; hairspray is as good as any other.

The paper or cloth is fastened about the stone quite tightly. Use masking tape, and, after securing it, run your hand over the surface to get the feel of the inscription. Rubbing is done with the crayon held flat against the surface of the paper. When the picture and inscription are clear, the fixing spray is used if necessary. When dry, the tape can be removed and the rubbing rolled up and taken home for study.

Figure 1 shows the inscription on the gravestone of the first president of Bowdoin College along with an English translation. Although this example is in Latin, the teacher of other languages should remember that wherever American-immigrant groups have lived, there are likely to be cemeteries that were used by those speakers of foreign languages. A brief inquiry should locate them, and the inscriptions on the gravestones should prove culturally and linguistically interesting for the language classroom.

Figure 1

H.S.E. quod mortale fuit	Here lies
Viri admodum Reverendi Dr. Josephi McKeen S.T.D.	indeed, the sacred remains of that reverend gentleman, Dr. Joseph McKeen
ac Collegii Bowdoinensis Praesidis primi	also first president of Bowdoin College.
Natus est Octob. die XV Anno Dom. MDCCLVII in Republico	He was born on October 15, in the year 1757, in the state
Neo-Hantoniensi ubi primo in literis humanioribus institutus	of New Hampshire, where in his early training in humanities
honores attigit Academicos	he achieved academic honors.
Postea Verbi divini ministerio apud Beverleam in Republica	Later in the ministry of the divine Word at Beverly in the State
Massachusetiense annos septendecim strenue juxta, ac benigne	of Massachusetts for seventeen years he performed his duties vigorously and productively.
perfunctus est Novissime autem. Nostratium omnium favore	Most recently, however, with the approval of all our fellow countrymen,
ac praecipus doctorum piorrumque Collegium hic loci	and especially of learned and reverend men, he guided
auspicato fundatum quinque vix annos	the College founded here under favorable auspices for barely five years,
ea qua par est dignitate et sapientia Fideliter feliciter rexit	with a fitting dignity and wisdom—and did so faithfully and felicitously,
donec morbo hydropico impeditus Julii XV Ann MDCCCVII	until, suffering from dropsy, on July 15 in the year 1807,
in Domino obdormivit	he fell asleep in the Lord.
Ingenio fuit sagaci, judicio imprimis acerrimo	He was a man of wise spirit, outstanding for his keen sense of justice,
priscorum temporum gravitate aemulus	comparable to the men of old in his seriousness,
moribus autem Pacilis et benevolentia	peaceful in his ways and altogether a
omnino Christianus	Christian in his goodwill,
quoniam doctrinam, artes optimas quoniam gravit·r excolebat ipse	for he himself always cultivated deeply learning and the highest arts,
in aliis semper amavit, et quoad potuit, auxit	always admired them in others, and as far as possible increased their growth.
M. S.	Sacred in memory
Monumentum hocce luctus eheu! solamen leve, at testimonium tamen	This monument is but little consolation in grief but at least a witness to it.
Senatus Academicus	on the part of the Academic Senate
P. C.	on behalf of a colleague

FIELD TRIPS WITHOUT TRAVEL: THE TRAVELING SUITCASE

For the many teachers who find it impossible to take their students to a site of cultural or architectural interest, there is a solution. In the State of Vermont

the 'traveling suitcase' can come into the classroom. With the aid of state funds, the Classics Department at the University of Vermont has prepared a dozen or so of these suitcases, each one on a topic pertaining to Greco-Roman culture.[4] One might consider using Bicentennial funds to prepare such material on topics related to the American-ethnic heritage.

Each suitcase contains appropriate slides or filmstrips, tape recordings, reproductions of realia, paperback books, maps, posters, and a notebook with an inventory, suggestions for use, and topics for additional study. The set of material is shipped to schools for a loan period of about three weeks. Each school is limited to two suitcases a year. This is an engaging method of disseminating good quality, informative material on a variety of subjects useful to busy teachers in support of their language teaching efforts. A positive side effect is that school administrators and media directors are frequently persuaded to purchase their own copies of the materials for permanent use in the school.

Popular Ethnic Literature and Historical Documents

INTRODUCTION

The American educational system being what it is, any professionally trained foreign language teacher has had considerable exposure to literature from the foreign country. No German-language teacher escapes Thomas Mann; all French-language teachers know Maupassant; and Spanish-language teachers are certainly aware of García Máquez. However, American-ethnic groups have also produced popular literature and numerous historical documents that are useful in the foreign language classroom. Much of the literature may well be translated from English-language authors—which has the advantage of using material that is often familiar to the students; thus, it becomes more of a linguistic exercise than an investigation of culture. A disadvantage lies in the fact that it is not an exploration of foreign literature, a task that is frequently desirable in foreign language learning.

POPULAR LATIN TRANSLATIONS: AN EXAMPLE

As proof of the fact that any group of foreign language speakers, such as American ethnic communities, will produce popular literature in its language, one need only examine the following Latin bibliography. While these titles do repre-

4. Information may be obtained from Philip Ambrose, Classics Department, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 05401. Use of the University of Vermont suitcases is restricted to schools in the State of Vermont.

sent a moderate amount of diversion from serious foreign language reading, their very existence shows that we can find material that is potentially a refreshing change from the classics of the college curriculum.

Ludovici Carrol, Alicia in Terra Mirabili in *Aliciae per Speculum Transitus*. Trans. C. H. Carruthers. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964, 1966.

A. A. Milnei, Winnie Ille Pu. Trans. A. Lenardo. New York: Dutton, 1960.

Regulus [*Le Petit Prince* by Antonius A. Sancto Exuperio]. Trans. A. Haury. Paris: Hazan, 1961.

Pinoculus. Trans. E. Maffacini. New York: Vanni, 1953.

E. G. Busch, Max et Moritz. Trans. E. Steindl. Munich: Braun & Schneider, 1961.

Amor est Sensus Quidam Peculiaris. Trans. G. M. Lyne and J. W. Anglund. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968.

Tres Parvi Porci et Aliae Fabellae Familiares. Trans. B. S. Rathbun. Available from the translator, 4506 Jones Street, Omaha, Neb. 68106.

Linus de Vita, Philosophia Secundum Snoopy, Carolini Brown Sapientia, and *Mundus Secundum Luciam*. Trans. M. Pei. New York: Hallmark, 1968.

There are many other examples for the Latin language, and these may be obtained along with much other material from the American Classical League Service Bureau.[5] Teachers of more commonly spoken languages can find titles in any foreign-language bookstore and in many larger libraries serving the general public.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS: ANOTHER EXAMPLE

As foreign-language speaking groups come to America, they bring with them a trail of historical documents—some written before they immigrate and some written in the United States. These can easily be used in the foreign language classroom for language learning, discussion of foreign culture, and investigation of the American ethnic heritage. The place to look for this material is in the archives of schools, the records of cities, and the files of libraries in those localities where the immigrants first settled. Many such Spanish-language documents are quite current; this is a reflection of the present volume of Spanish speakers entering the country. Other languages may require the teacher to go farther back in time to find extant records.

A typical example in French is the correspondence between Voltaire and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours in the late eighteenth century. In addition to the letter from Voltaire published in the 1971 *Northeast Conference Reports*,[6] the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library in Greenville, Delaware, contains a sizeable collection of this type.

5. Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056.

6. Working Committee III, "Innovative Trends in Foreign-Language Teaching" (New York: The Conference, 1971), pp. 123-27.

Before the twentieth century, Latin was a prevalent language of the literate. In 1493 a Latin letter on Columbus' voyage to America, which was originally written in Spanish, was translated into Latin and given wide circulation. Until the Spanish original was found in the nineteenth century, it was the primary source on his experiences in the New World. Figure 2 shows the Latin original and an English translation.

Figure 2

The Discovery of America

Epistula Christoforī Colom, cui aetās nostra multum dēbet, dē īnsulīs Indiae suprā Gangem nūper inventīs, ad quās perquīrendās octāvō anteā mēnse auspiciīs et aere invictissimōrum Fernandī et Helisabet Hisepaniārum Rēgum missus fuerat, ad magnificum dominum Gabrielem Sanchis eōrundem serēnissimōrum Rēgum Thēsaurārium missa: quam nōbilis ac litterārius vir Leander dē Coscō ab Hispānō idiōmate in Latinum convertit tertiō Kalendās Majās MCCCCXCIII, Pontificātūs Alexandrī Sextī annō prīmō:

Quoniam susceptae prōvidentiae rem perfectam mē cōnsecūtum fuisse grātum tibi fore sciō, hās cōnstituī exarāre quae tē ūniuscujusque rei in hōc nostrō itinere gestae inventaeque admoneant.

Tricēsimōtertiō diē postquam Gādibus discessī in mare Indicum pervēnī, ubi plurimās īnsulās innumeris habitātās hominibus repperī. Quārum omnium prō fēlicissimō Rēge nostrō praecōniō celebrātō et vexillīs extēnsīs contrādicente nēmine possessiōnem accēpi prīmaeque eārum divī Salvātōris nōmen imposuī, cujus frētus auxiliō tam ad hanc quam ad cēterās aliās pervēnimus. Eam vērō Indī Guanahanin vocant. Aliārum etiam ūnamquamque novō nōmini nūncupāvī, quippe aliam īnsulam Sānctae Mariae Conceptiōnis, aliam Fernandīnam, aliam Hysabellam, aliam Joanam. Et sīc dē reliquīs appellārī jussī.

Cum prīmum in eam īnsulam quam dūdum Joanam vocārī dīxī appulimus, juxtā ejus lītus occidentem versus aliquantulum prōcessī, tamque eam magnam nūllō repertō fine invēnī ut nōn īnsulam sed continentem Chatai prōvinciam esse crēderim, nūlla tamen vidēns oppida mūnici-

Letter of Christopher Columbus, to whom our age owes much, concerning the islands of India beyond the Ganges, recently discovered. To search for these he had been sent eight months before, under the auspices and at the expense of the most invincible Ferdinand and Isabella (Helisabet), rulers of Spain. Addressed to the magnificent lord, Gabriel Sanchis, treasurer of the same most illustrious rulers. The noble and scholarly man Leander de Cosco translated the letter from the Spanish language into Latin on the third day before the Kalends of May, 1493, in the first year of the pontificate of Alexander the Sixth.

I know that it will be pleasing to you that my undertakings have turned out successfully: I have decided to tell you about them, so that you may be acquainted with everything done and discovered on this our voyage. On the thirty-third day after I departed from Cadiz. (a mistake on the part of the Latin translator: Columbus set out from Palos.) I came to the Indian Sea, where I found many islands inhabited by countless men, and took possession of all of them for our most fortunate king, with a proclaiming herald and flying standards, and with no one objecting. To the first of these I gave the name of the Blessed Savior, (San Salvador in Spanish; it was one of the Bahama Islands—just which one we are not sure.) relying on whose aid I had reached this as well as the other islands. But the Indians call it Guanahany. I also called each of the others by a new name. For I ordered one island to be called Santa Maria of the Conception (probably Crooked Island, or North Caico), another Fernandina (identified by some authori-

piave in maritimīs sita cōnfinibus praeter aliquōs vicōs et praedia rūstica; cum quōrum incolis loquī nequībam. Quā rē simul ac nōs vidēbant, surripiēbant fugam.

Prōgrediēbar ultrā exīstimāns aliquam mē urbem villāsve inventūrum. Dēnique vidēns quod longē admodum prōgressīs nihil novī ēmergēbat et hujus modī via nōs ad Septentriōnem dēferēbat (quod ipse fugere exoptābam, terris etenim rēgnābat brūma), ad Austrum erat in vōtō contendere.[7]

ties with Little Inagua, by others with Long Island, West Indies), another Juana (the island of Cuba), and so on with the rest. As soon as we had arrived at that island which I have just now said was called Juana, I proceeded along its coast toward the west for some distance. I found it so large and so without perceptible end that I believed it was no island, but the continental country of Cathay (China); however, seeing no towns or cities situated on the seacoast, but only a few villages and rude farms, with whose inhabitants I was unable to converse, because as soon as they saw us they fled. I proceeded further, thinking that I would discover some city or large residences. Finally, perceiving that we had gone far enough, that nothing new appeared, and that this was leading us to the north, which I wished to avoid, because it was winter in those lands, and it was my intention to go to the south. . . .[8]

The use of Latin continues in the twentieth century. As one example, the salutatory at the commencement exercises of Princeton University in 1966 was delivered in Latin (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Salutatio

Pro huius anni classe vos omnes congregatos ut quadriennium in Universitate Princetoniensi a nobis prospere peractum concelebretis ex animo saluto.[a] *Decet nos convenire ante hoc aedificium antiquissimum Aulae Nassovicae—signum insigne morum et rationis veterum quorum nos participes vobis adiuvantibus fuimus, quos autem speramus et ipsos servasse et esse servaturos.*

In primis vos cunctos quibus gubernatio rerum academicarum est commissa salutare volumus: te primum, praeses praeclarissime, quo duce Universitas Princetoniensis viguit vigetque et profecto vigebit;[b] *deinde vos, curatores prudentissimi, qui novis antiqua mire miscendo festinatis*

Salutatory Address

On behalf of this year's class I heartily welcome all of you who are gathered here to celebrate our successful completion of four years at Princeton University. It is fitting that we should assemble in front of this venerable structure, Nassau Hall, a signal mark of the manners and mentality of old which, with your help, we have come to share and which we hope we have maintained and will maintain in the future.

We wish to begin by welcoming all of you to whom the direction of academic affairs has been entrusted: first you, illustrious president, under whose guidance Princeton University has flourished, flourishes, and will assuredly continue to flour-

7. *Experimental Materials*, Book II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954).
8. E. Cochran, "Christopher Columbus Writes a Letter," *Classical Outlook*, 22, i, 1-2.

lente;[b] *postremo vos, decani et administri diligentissimi, qui quae temere a nobis facta cum gaudio tum dolore excepistis.*[b] *Taciti comprobamus regulas poenasque quibus nos modestiam et continentiam edocuistis; aperte applaudamus aedificia nova in quibus Disciplinae Artis, Architecturae, Musicae, Rerumque Publicarum et Inter Gentes sedes nunc felices habent. Maximas vobis gratias agimus quod nobis miseris miseracordes vos praebuistis; nam fecistis ut nobis, quibus mente fessa et corpore fatigato numquam studia intermittere liceret, mens esset sana in corpore sano. Quid? O salutarem P-F optionem, quae vincula academica solvit!*[c] *O natatorium magnificum iuxta Viam Prospectam et Scholam Woodrow Wilsonensem ad delectationem nocturnam necnon uvidam idoneum, commodum, ingeniosum—et hercule Tide detergenti spumosum!*[d]

Deinde vos salutamus, professores sapientissimi, quorum amicitia ac doctrina studium cognoscendi atque discendi—quasi divinum—in nos inspiraverunt;[b] *nuper illi ex Viet Cong, homines acerrimi, studium acrius—quasi ex inferis—provocaverunt.*[d]

Tum vos multis ex oris et partibus orbis terrarum congressos, parentes cognatique et amici atque sponsae uxoresque necnon hospites, ardenter salutamus. Etsi societate vestra infrequentes per hoc quadriennium perfructi sumus, tamen successum nostrum amore auxilioque vestris, in creberrimis litteris relatis, acceptum referimus.[b]

Postremo, sodales, vos in vestra persona saluto. Abhinc annis quattuor ad hanc universitatem advenimus impoliti, indocti, inter nos ignoti; hodie perpoliti, prudentes, perfamiliares proficiscimur. Convixi-mus, collusimus, coram inter nos contulimus, convivati et commentati sumus. Magis temere quam prudentes—at errare humanum est—tumultu infami anno salutis millesimo nonagentesimo sexagesimo tertio strepuimus. Praesidem Civitatum Consociatarum LBJ alii laeti alii tristes nuper conspeximus et exaudivimus. Quamquam nos devictos a Dartmuthia in pila pede pulsanda et ab Agneti Scott in Cratera Collegiali obstupefecit pudor,[e] *multas tamen*

ish; next you, the prudent trustees who 'make haste slowly' by mingling the new with the old in a remarkable way; and finally you, diligent deans and administrators, who have accepted our rash acts with a mixture of joy and pain. We silently approve the regulations and punishments by which you have taught us self-restraint and moderation; we openly applaud the new buildings in which the disciplines of Art, Architecture, Music, Government, and International Affairs now have pleasant productive quarters. We especially thank you for your understanding attitude toward us in times of trouble; for, while it was not permitted us to interrupt our studies, even though our minds were tired and our bodies exhausted, you made it possible for us to maintain a sound mind in a sound body. How? O blessed Pass-Fail option which loosened the academic fetters! O wondrous swimming pool on Prospect Street, near the Woodrow Wilson School, fitting, suitable, well designed for nightly pleasure, if somewhat damp—and, by heaven, foaming with Tide!

Next we greet you, learned professors, whose friendship and teaching has inspired in us a zeal for inquiry and learning—as if from on high; while those keen fighters of the Viet Cong have called forth a bitterer zeal—as if from the realms below.

Then we enthusiastically welcome you who have gathered here from all parts of the world, parents and relatives, friends, fiancees, wives, and also guests. Even though we have seldom enjoyed your society during this four-year period, still we attribute the success we have attained to the love and support conveyed in your frequent letters.

Lastly, fellow-students, I greet you in person. Four years ago we came to this university unpolished, unlearned, unknown to one another; today we set forth polished, wise, and closely familiar with each other. We have lived together, we have played together, we have interacted with one another, sharing physical and mental nourishment. More rashly than

victorias athletarum et discipulorum cerevisia et ignibus festis concelebravimus.[c] *Impetus insidiosos Amherstensium et vel illarum ex Monte Holyokensi propulsantes Almam Matrem defendimus et illustravimus.*[e] *Alii in partes alias orbis terrarum posthac discedemus, sed quae per hoc quadriennium passi sumus proinde nos inter nos et cum Alma Matre consociaverunt. Itaque, amici, avete atque valete.*[f]

Habita in Comitiis Academicis Princetoniae in Nova Caesarea A.D. XVIII KAL. IVL. Anno Salvtis MCMLXVI atqve anno Academiae CCXX.

a. Hic plaudite.
b. Hic vehementer plaudite.
c. Hic vociferate.
d. Hic ridete.
e. Hic deplorate.
f. Hic vehementissime plaudite.

wisely—but to err is human—we took part in a disgraceful riot in the year 1963. Recently we saw and heard the President of the United States, LBJ—some of us happily, others not. Although we are ashamed that we were thoroughly beaten by Dartmouth in football and by Agnes Scott on College Bowl, we have celebrated many victories in athletics and academics with beer and bonfires. We made our Alma Mater famous by defending her vigorously against the insidious attacks of Amherst men and Mt. Holyoke women. After this, some of us will go to one part of the world, others to another, but the things we have shared through these four years have established a bond among us and with our Alma Mater, which will endure henceforth. And so, friends, greetings and goodby.

This address was given at the academic assembly at Princeton, New Jersey, June 14, 1966 A.D. in the 220th year of the college.

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Papers Read at the 1975 Northeast Conference

Nelson Brooks
Yale University

*Retrospect and Prospect**

One score and six years ago the President of Barnard College, Millicent MacIntosh, brough forth for consideration by this Conference a new notion, conceived in perplexity and dedicated to the proposition that teachers of foreign languages should face up to the question of what it was they were trying to do. Now, we who are participating in this Conference are engaged in the clarification of our goals, testing whether our position as a vital part of formal education can long endure. From the start in 1949, our purpose has not been to have bigger and better conferences, more cogent, more widely read *Reports*, but rather to change, improve, and enliven the classroom scene.

What were we reacting to when this Conference began? We were reacting to what the Second World War had shown to be a most dismal failure in foreign language teaching: the reading objective. Between the First and the Second World War, it was officially recommended that two years of grammar and translation, taught in English, provided an adequate experience with a new language. But when the soldiers of the American army arrived in Europe in the early forties, there were found to be among them literally none who could converse with a French person or read a French newspaper. The reading objective had found no place for training the audiolingual skills or for an initial experience in using the target language without reference to English. Language as direct person-to-person communication had simply not been thought of. It was a startling revelation.

* An address given at the Northeast Conference in New York, N.Y., on 11 April 1975.

While the war years had revealed this serious flaw in what we had been doing, they had also shown on many college campuses that a concentrated program of learning by doing could produce, in a relatively short time, a basic control of a new language that might be put to use in a number of different ways. In the years immediately following the war, the question was often asked: Could the teaching techniques of the Army Specialized Training Program be widely applied in the classrooms of American schools and colleges? This question, coupled with the extreme diversity of activities that President MacIntosh had perceived, resulted in an urge to reform and redirect our teaching efforts.

Our goals in this Conference have been both tactical and strategic. Our original tactical aim was a thoroughgoing change in classroom procedure. Whereas we had been encouraging learning by observing, analyzing, and comparing, we would now learn by doing. Talking about a new language and translating from it, using English at all times, would now be replaced by learning to *use* the foreign language, doing with it, as well as we could, what its native speakers do with it, employing only a bare minimum of English. We would work toward communication, both written and spoken, while reducing English to the vanishing point. We would modify and rearrange the roles of grammar and translation. We would not only teach all four language skills but test all four, using only the target language in our tests.

Our strategic aims soon became clear and were clearly stated. There were three of them: language competence, cultural insight, and literary acquaintance. We never presumed to have discovered any unique, all-purpose, all-powerful method. We knew quite well that the search for a single method is like the search for the Holy Grail—noble in concept but in actuality futile—for in our work the variability of purpose, ability, and circumstances is far too great. We were well aware that the locus of our endeavor was the classrooms of American schools and colleges, although the powerful enhancement of a sojourn abroad, far less feasible then than now, was of course welcomed and encouraged.

Were we all in accord with the new direction that was proposed? By no means. Apathy, resistance, criticism all made their presence felt, especially criticism on the part of those who could not distinguish goals from dogma. A word about dogma. If you are in Manhattan and decide to go to Long Island, it is hardly dogma to insist, quite firmly, on the futility of going west, unless you plan a trip around the world. It is merely the common sense conclusion that follows from your choice of goal. If you are going to learn to do without English and without a printed text, how can you allow the use of English and the open book at all times?

Note in particular the word 'audiolingual,' first proposed in a Working Committee of this Conference and intended to mean, quite innocently, no more than language when spoken and heard, something recognized as being at least a million years old. The term, however, came to be used as a catchword summarizing all we were trying to do, began to be coupled with the word 'method,' then eventually to be blamed for failing to produce what had never been promised in the first place. If 'audiolingual' is to be used for anything other than a stigma to beat a dogma, it must be remembered that, as originally employed, it simply meant

spoken speech. In the nature of things, the word became associated with an ambitious program that included the learning of all four skills, with initial emphasis upon listening and speaking, study through at least four levels, the three objectives just referred to, face-to-face and face-to-page communication in the target language, a limited and diminishing use of English, with the teacher serving as model, interlocutor, and coach. To load all these things upon the single word 'audiolingual' and to make it responsible for their success verge on the absurd.

Finding that the audiolingual approach was no panacea, but demanded time, competence, and hard work, many turned aside, hoping to discover a sure, royal road by changing the make-up of the classroom, modifying the schedule, cropping the materials, and putting the students on their own. But we have yet to see a road map showing any royal road leading to the goals we seek.

We realized that teachers needed to have special competencies in this new type of classroom work, and we joined with sixteen other national language organizations in approving the statement of *Qualifications of Secondary School Teachers of Foreign Languages* that was issued by the Modern Language Association in the middle sixties.

How wrong were we about what we were trying to do, about the importance of training the teacher, about the effectiveness of using the target language in the classroom? Not very! A little over a year ago *The New York Times* carried a report of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. This study, initiated by UNESCO, had continued for more than a decade, had included a number of different countries, and covered six different subjects, among them English as a foreign language and French as a foreign language. Here are some sentences from that report: "Teacher training in the subject matter was particularly important regardless of the subject. This importance increases with the grade level of the student. Teachers need to know the subject they are teaching. In foreign languages, the teacher's proficiency in that language enhances student learning, as does the teacher's use of the language in instruction. Concern and commitment to their profession on the part of all teachers also plays a part in the achievement of their students."[1]

For my part, the briefest and most satisfactory definition of our ultimate goal is the one given by William R. Parker: "A course of study carried to the point of a comfortable and confident ability in a foreign language for some reasonable purpose."

What can this Conference take credit for? Here are some important accomplishments to which we can lay claim: pioneer work in teaching and testing all the skills, forceful and effective insistence upon using the target language in the classroom, extensive experimentation with the elementary school start we call FLES, initial efforts at analyzing the full meaning of culture and of integrating culture with our programs of language learning, serious attempts at coordinating the language work of schools and colleges, repeated, conscientious struggles to achieve all three of our strategic objectives.

1. Alan C. Purves, "Some Optimism Justified," *The New York Times* (16 January 1974), p. 74.

Have we been isolationist, self-centered, chauvinistic about our progress and our problems? On the contrary, we have sought professional advice from many sources outside our own field—at times receiving rather more than we sought. We have adapted ourselves to many innovations coming from without as well as from within. Teaching and testing the skills, techniques for the suppression of English, insistence upon communication in the target language, the tilt toward bilingualism—all these were generated by ourselves. In contrast, such matters as individualized instruction, programmed learning, modular scheduling, performance objectives, accountability, the open classroom—could these have been dreamed up by language teachers? Yet it cannot be said that we have failed to be both thoughtful and active in accommodating ourselves to them.

Wherein have we failed? Our most distinguished failure, by all odds, is in not having convinced the colleges of their responsibility in our total task. The paradox is that the teaching of a student's first foreign language is basically a school task. Yet it is the colleges that train the teachers, make policy, criticize (through the professional journals), and, through their admission requirements, their catalogue statements, and their own teaching procedures, deeply influence what the schools in fact do. We have been too insensitive to the grim reality of the statistics of our foreign language populations, which can be paraphrased in four short words: two years and out. There can be little doubt by now that the single phenomenon of the college language requirement for entrance or exit has a direct and pervasive effect upon the number of learners in our classes in both schools and colleges. We have not explored deeply enough the stark significance of this fact for our entire profession.

Not a failure but a haunting non-fulfillment is the dilemma of FLES. Every indicator, scientific and otherwise, now points to the unique and irredeemable quality of pre-puberty language learning, to the point that all later initial foreign language training seems almost compensatory. We have found out how to teach foreign languages to the very young, and we know that we should. The problem is no longer either philosophical or professional, it is solely financial. Where are the funds to train the teachers and to employ them once they are trained? It is our national values that are in question here, not the teaching of foreign languages.

Aside from the obviously important matters of devising a greater number of courses to suit the various interests and needs of our students and the working out of all the curriculum adjustments we can make that will enable our learners to advance at their optimal rate, what major enterprise lies before us in the years ahead? I believe there is one, and that it arises from the slowly emerging cultural, social, artistic, and biological fact that human language is *sui generis*, the only thing of its kind, in a class by itself. Language has long been studied as the handmaid of religion, of philosophy, and of literature. But has it ever been studied in its own right? Yes, by the linguists, for nearly a century and a half. But their approach has been that of the scientist, with all its objectivity, precision, and limitations. A truly humanistic approach to the study of language for its own sake has yet to be undertaken. Though the psychologists have helped us little in the past, they are now in a strong position to do so. But they must turn away from their rats

and pigeons, their dolphins and chimps, and instead follow the leadership of such outstanding men in their field as Eric Lenneberg, Wallace Lambert, George Miller, and Roger Brown—to name only a few—by continuing an earnest study of human language in the only place in which it is ever going to be found: in human beings, starting at birth and continuing into adulthood.

There is among us—one senses it in any large gathering of foreign language teachers—an unidentified feeling of mission, a sense of importance, not as yet articulated. This stems, I think, from the slowly dawning realization in the academic world of the primal importance of language in enabling man to separate himself from the rest of the animal world and become something new on the surface of the earth: a thinking, symbol-making creature. Is there anything more remarkable in the entire sphere of life than the human brain? Is there anything more universally remarkable about the human brain than its ability to handle language? By logic, where does this place those whose profession is the business of language, how it is used, how it is learned, how it has served to make us human? What has been the role of language in the ascent of man? What interplay is there between pre-verbal thought and the skills of language? What relationship is there between language and the other symbolic transformations—music, mathematics, art, and ritual—so brilliantly sketched out by Susanne Langer more than three decades ago?

Given a deeper insight into the character and history of language and its social and personal role in human life, should there not be, *could* there not be, a program of coordinated activity of all disciplines both scientific and humanistic whose principal interest is the nature and use of language?

Now to transcend these rhetorical clouds and emerge into an area of practicality. What could this Conference do to aid in making headway toward such a new goal? I see great possibilities in the pursuit of a new concept that we might name "Exploring Language and Culture." Looking toward the future, one can envisage a course of enquiry, inspection, and trial, designed not as a mere smörgasbord of brief encounters with several languages, but along the following lines:

(1) A preview of the nature of language, its natural history, and its critical importance in the development of man and his culture;
(2) A look at the acquisition of one's first language in infancy and at the various modes and purposes of acquiring an additional language or languages later on;
(3) Illustrations of sameness and difference drawn from a sampling of various languages and cultures, including one's own;
(4) A comparison of the scientist's and the humanist's approach to the study of language and culture; and
(5) The leading role of language in creating and maintaining the culture in which each of us lives and in the acquisition of culture by every individual.

Does such a project imply added diligence and redoubled effort on the part of our committees and our participants? It does indeed. Yet a most impressive heritage of this Conference is its continued willingness to grapple with new professional tasks, no matter how formidable they may appear to be.

To end in the mode in which I began, it may well be both our privilege and our duty thus to promote the legitimacy of our central position, midway between the sciences and the humanities, in order that the serious study of the languages of all the world's people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from our colleges and our schools.

Ted T. Grenda
New York State Education Department

*Changing Goals for Foreign Language Education**

The foreign language teaching profession is experiencing great convulsions today. The technological revolution and the disappearance of the traditional captive audience are cutting deeply into enrollments. Yet, we know of the increasing need for our citizens of the future to be able to operate in a multicultural, multilingual environment.

The amount of mail coming and going across our borders has more than doubled in the last twenty years; the number of overseas telephone calls to and from the United States has jumped almost 4,000% in the same period. The American business community has increased its foreign investments more than 500%, and foreign investments in this country have risen even more sharply. The community our children will live in will be an international one. We can no longer maintain the superior attitude of expecting the rest of the world to speak our language; we must learn to speak to the world. The stress on the desirability of a particular language may change with political and economic conditions, but there should be a need for all languages.

Schools need to develop language consciousness and programs which can offer diversity in language and in language instruction. Schools also need to revise

* An address given at the Northeast Conference in New York, N.Y., on 11 April 1975.

their language programs so that they may address themselves to a much wider audience than the traditional, college-bound, intellectual elite.

This reorientation of programs for a wider and, thereby, more diverse audience should imply the reassessment of existing objectives and the establishment of new ones. Such programs should be aimed at the development of practical communication skills, cross-cultural understanding, and the learning experience which will facilitate the acquisition of similar skills in other languages later in life if necessary.

Such goals cannot be translated into a single set of specific objectives applicable to all school situations. Each institution owes it to the community it serves to undertake a systematic setting of goals which are the result of a thorough study of local needs combined with the best professional thinking. Even though such programs may vary greatly according to locale, they should all exhibit at least one constant: a concern for all individuals, expressed by the offering of options which make a degree of proficiency attainable by all interested students, even the slower learners who have been neglected too long by our profession. The elitist concept, according to which all foreign language sequences must necessarily culminate with a literary emphasis, must be replaced by the acceptance that this outcome may be only one out of many available options.

All programs should be based on a commitment to develop in all students the minimum capability, sometimes imperfect, to communicate in the target language. The degree of perfection attained by each student may be pre-established on the basis of the level of ability and the time commitment which each student brings to the learning process.

Such varying expectations can be accommodated in a program which makes full use of instructional modules fitted to the students' needs, time, and interest. Many dreams may become realities if we are willing to stop thinking in terms of forty-week and five-day-a-week programs and start building with minicourses and special interest courses, continuous progress, and personalized instruction. Options should not only be represented by the varying levels of proficiency attained by students, but by the possibility of availing themselves of only segments of what has traditionally been considered an indivisible four-skills approach.

Educators have already developed the tools needed to accomplish this objective, and many are already using them. They must be put to work systematically to implement a wider variety of offerings which will allow more students to reach their potential and, thereby, achieve self-actualization while acquiring valuable skills.

Ways must be found to allow all interested students to achieve some level of competence in at least one of the communication skills of a foreign language. Programs must be designed which allow students, with their teachers, to identify their own objectives and the learning modes best suited to them. Ways must be found to offer, more widely, languages which until now have been considered uncommonly-taught languages, such as Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Swahili.

Instructional methodologies which merit further investigation and development include:

(1) Individualization of instruction and continuous progress, implying small group instruction, large group instruction, individual attention, independent study programs, and contract learning;
(2) Use of other human instructional resources, such as peer teachers, paraprofessionals, community volunteers, student teachers, teacher-aides, native informants, etc.;
(3) Study and travel programs abroad;
(4) Innovative uses of available electronic equipment, such as videotapes and computers as well as the common sound recording devices, to create an authentic learning environment;
(5) Use of human dynamics and values clarification techniques;
(6) Special interest courses;
(7) Use of language saturation and interdisciplinary tec' niques;
(8) Use of creative expression in the foreign language classroom: music, art, and creative writing;
(9) Foreign languages for careers;
(10) Use of public media, such as magazines, newspapers, television, shortwave radio; and
(11) Communications with countries of the target language.

In a world which offers us, as an only constant, the certainty of an unpredictable future, the managing of change should prove a vital challenge; we should accept it gladly and thereby control this process by establishing, implementing, and reassessing new goals. The ability to reorient language programs appears to be the answer to the recent demise which has afflicted foreign language education.

The decline in foreign language enrollments far exceeds the drop in our school population. Fewer students avail themselves of our instruction. Whereas 48% of the public high school population in New York State was learning a foreign language in 1969-70, only 35% did so in 1973-74. We know that we have something of value to offer, and we must make it not only available, but attractive to a greater number of students, giving foreign languages the importance they deserve in the curriculum from the earliest grades.

It may have seemed pleasant and safe to work with the proverbial elite captive audience, but it should prove far more challenging and rewarding to address ourselves to a much wider and more varied audience. This reassignment of goals may not only return foreign language education to its former place in the curriculum, but provide it with a far more exciting rebirth.

1975 Northeast Conference Award Article

Thomas P. Carter
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*The Imaginative Use of Projected Visuals**

Much has been written about the potential of the overhead projector in the foreign language classroom. James Wrenn discussed its advantages and some basic techniques of operation in the Northeast Conference's *Sight and Sound*; John Caros has outlined some further applications in a recent issue of *The French Review*; and Morton Schultz devoted a chapter to language teaching in his well-known book, *The Teacher and Overhead Projection*.[1] These studies have tended to emphasize the preparation and presentation of written (that is, scriptural) materials, although Schultz includes some suggestions for the use of images as well. What is needed now, and what is proposed in this article, are more provocative suggestions about (1) *what* is most effectively presented through visual means; and (2) *how* projected visuals can best be used. The major concern is less with the actual physical techniques of preparation than with oral class activities during projection. The guiding principle and goal in both categories is the imaginative exploitation of overhead materials, from narrated or teacher-controlled ac-

* The author is the recipient of the 1975 Stephen A. Freeman Award on the basis of this article, which originally appeared in *Foreign Language Annals*, 7 (1974), 514-24, and is reprinted here by permission.

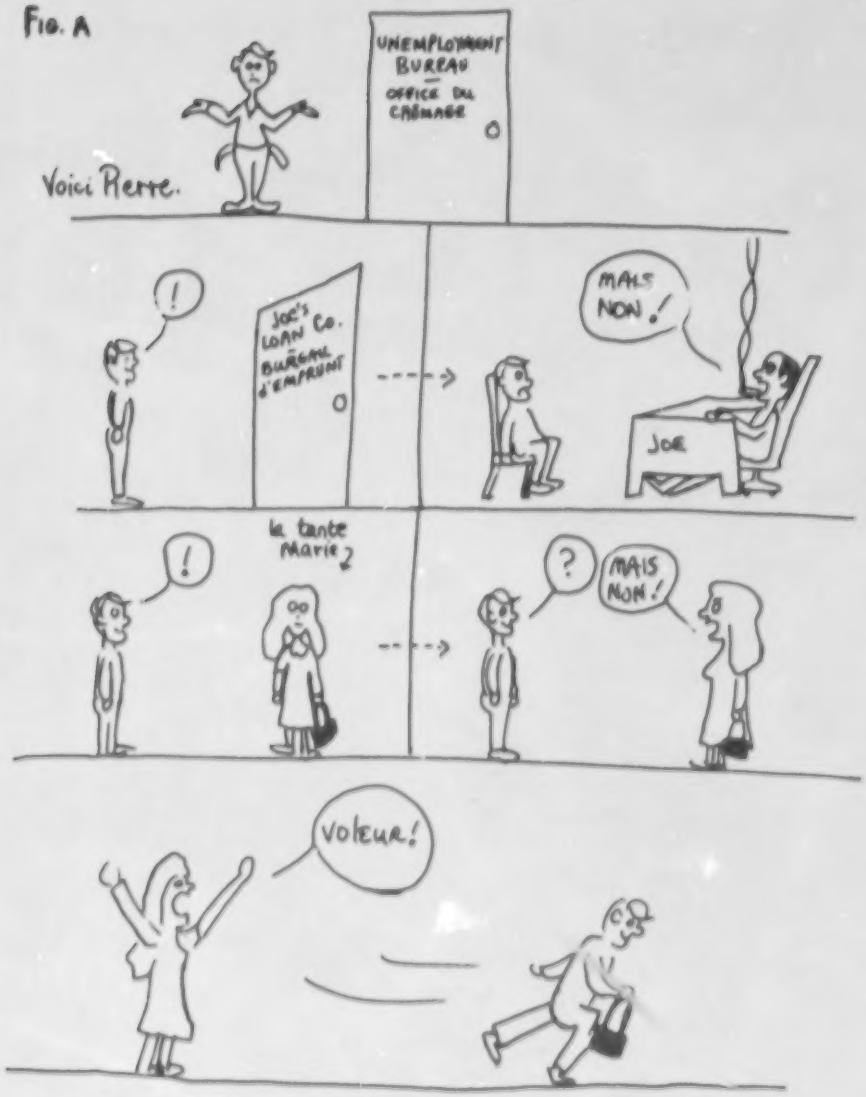
1. Mills F. Edgerton Jr., ed., *Sight and Sound: The Sensible and Sensitive Use of Audio-Visual Aids. Reports of the Working Committees of the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages* (New York: The Conference, 1969), pp. 66-82; John Caros, "Teaching the Four Skills with the Overhead Projector," *French Review*, 44 (1971), 535-38; and Morton Schultz, *The Teacher and Overhead Projection* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

tivity to stimulus-free expression. It is not implied here that the overhead projector is not a useful instrument for dialogue practice, testing, dictation review, and written drillwork; but these applications are already well documented and familiar to all foreign language teachers. Instead, the writer is suggesting some commonly ignored and perhaps helpful uses of the overhead projector, which are based less on the potential of the machine as such (masking, overlay techniques) than on more general principles of audio-visual instruction in language teaching.

TYPE OF MATERIAL FOR VISUAL PRESENTATION

The first and most important consideration in selecting or designing visual materials is the type of material that is suitable for visual presentation. Unfortunately, most teachers give little or no consideration to this subject. Having a projector and the desire to use visual aids, how many teachers begin by presenting a picture to the class and asking the inevitable question, *"Qu'est-ce que c'est?"* (or *"Qu'est-ce qu'il fait?"*)? More important, how many teachers never or rarely go beyond this elementary use of visual materials? The writer is not suggesting that this use cannot be a profitable exploitation of the overhead projector; such materials have their place in a classroom, especially if one has time for teaching isolated lexical items (*C'est un cheval. Il court.*) so that students learn what these words mean, how to pronounce them accurately, and when to use them. If a student can conceive of an apple, however, it is difficult to see what necessary advantage there is for him to perceive one in order to learn that the French world for apple is (*une*) *pomme*. Certainly associative learning is taking place in both instances, and some students may feel insulted by the persistent use of unnecessary pictures. If a picture is often worth a thousand words, there must be at least as many occasions when a word is worth a thousand pictures.

However, there is another, more positive reason for suggesting a different approach to the selection of visual materials. If linguistics has shown anything at all about language teaching, it is that elements such as *cheval* and *courir* are more profitably considered (and taught, at least to speakers of English) as variables within broader patterns or structures. A student who wishes to say in French, "I'm going to stop running," will most likely have fewer problems recalling that *courir* is involved than he will recalling and using the structure *s'arrêter de* + infinitive. Most textbooks today, in fact, use a structural approach of one sort or another, and the same principle is at the base of all pattern practice. It therefore should appear hardly surprising to suggest that visual materials could most profitably complement other class activities if they were selected and prepared according to the structures being practiced during that class. That is, the foreign language teacher might do well to design materials for visual presentation according to structural rather than contextual criteria, although ideally the two would be combined and complement each other. An example may illustrate the point. The materials in figure A were created not in order to teach the words *poche*, *porte*, or *tante* but rather to (1) review quantity articles in both the affirmative and the negative; and (2) give practice in structures of the type [verb + something + *a* + someone].



The following script might be used in class to accompany the projected transparency (with two three-by-five-inch cards as masks, it is a simple matter to reveal separate sections of the sequence):

Teacher: *Voici Pierre. A-t-il de l'argent?*
Student: *Non, il n'a pas d'argent.*
Teacher: *Pourquoi pas?*
Student: *Parce qu'il ne travaille pas.*

(Reveal the section showing Pierre in front of the loan company, but not yet inside.)

Teacher: *Pierre a une idée. Qu'est-ce qu'il va essayer de faire?*
Student: *Il va essayer d'emprunter de l'argent (à Joe).*
(Teacher: *A qui?*)
(Student: *A Joe.*)

(Reveal the section showing Pierre inside office.)

Teacher: *Qu'est-ce que Pierre demande à Joe—des cigarettes?*
Student: *Non, (il ne demande pas de cigarettes), il demande de l'argent à Joe.*
Teacher: *Est-ce que Joe veut prêter de l'argent à Pierre?*
Student: *Non, Joe ne veut pas prêter d'argent à Pierre.*
Teacher: *Alors est-ce que Pierre peut emprunter de l'argent à Joe?*
Student: *Non, Pierre ne peut pas emprunter d'argent à Joe.*

This sequence concentrates on the structural similarity of *demander, emprunter, prêter,* and *voler.* Only *emprunter* and *prêter* were new material, but the students had already practiced them in the language laboratory and, to a limited extent, in class through other types of exercises. This was the first opportunity the students had to use the new structures in an immediate context. *Demander* and *voler* were included both for review and for structural continuity. The narrative development is clear from the sequence itself, but a teacher's script is still very useful for eliciting the desired linguistic patterns in an organized fashion (when there is no narrative element, the overhead materials may be incomprehensible without a script; this writer has found transparencies for which the script has been lost and often cannot remember how he used them).

Maps and charts provide another good example of a way in which materials may be utilized for structural work. A continental map may be useful for teaching the names of countries, but it can also be used effectively with prepositions and verbs of motion. In teaching French, the writer used one map of Europe on which countries are indicated only by numbers. He explains that the numbers represent the order of countries visited on the itinerary of a certain Monsieur Duparc. When the students are sufficiently familiar with the *au(x)/en* distinction with respect to countries and with the names of the countries on the map, a dialogue using such a transparency might proceed as follows:

Teacher: *Monsieur Duparc quitte la France. Où va-t-il d'abord?*
Student: *Il va d'abord en Russie.*
Teacher: *D'où vient-il?*
Student: *Il vient de France.*
Teacher: *Et où va-t-il ensuite?*
Student: *Il va ensuite au Portugal.*

The students can quickly assume the questioning role as well, and the exercise can be made more complex by using more verbs. The numbering of the countries

can also determine the difficulty of the exercise; it may be helpful on the first round to arrange the sequence so that all masculine countries come first, followed by the feminine countries. This establishes a certain structural continuity that can be dissolved later by alternating masculine and feminine or otherwise "mixing" the two.

A second transparency using similar material represents the itinerary of Monsier Duparc's daughter, who may be described as showing her youthful rebelliousness by traveling in the opposite direction from that of her father and by preferring to visit specific cities rather than entire countries. (The students are expected to have learned the French names of various cities and countries before they come to class so that these may be drawn upon freely.) Because there is little problem with prepositions plus article to indicate movement to or from cities, the structures used might be more varied. For instance:

Teacher: *Elle arrive d'abord à Berlin. Où veut-elle aller ensuite?*
Student: *Elle veut aller à Moscou.*
Teacher: *Et où est Moscou?*
Student: *Moscou est en Russie.*
Teacher: *Et d'où (de quelle ville) est-elle venue?*
Student: *Elle est venue de Berlin.*
Teacher: *Si elle est venue de Berlin, quel pays a-t-elle dû quitter?*
Student: *Elle a dû quitter l'Allemagne.*
Teacher: *Va-t-elle en Russie en avion?*
Student: *Oui, elle va en Russie en avion (Non, elle va en Russie en voiture, etc.).*
Teacher: *Et à quelle ville arrive-t-elle encore?*
Student: *Elle arrive à Moscou.*

The teacher need not ask all these questions for each city; many possibilities from which one might draw have been indicated. It should be noted that in many cases, the question may be phrased to leave the choice of answers to the student. In this series of questions also, students readily can assume the questioning role. The materials can be made somewhat more flexible by eliminating the numbers on the map and using a pointer to indicate the next destination. Eventually, the pointer and even the transparency can be eliminated, and the entire itinerary may be planned by the students. In all cases, the map is being used for much more than conveying or practicing geographical information; it serves rather as a triggering device for structural work (*aller au/en, venir de/du/des, quitter*).

These examples show that the choice of structures, especially those that contrast with the students' native language habits, preceded the choice of vocabulary and context. This teaching procedure demands more creative work for the teacher, because it is more difficult and less natural to begin with a structure and to supply a meaningful context than to begin simply with the context. It is the very reverse of the human speech process. The results, however, are rewarding and fully warrant the effort expended.

In deciding on the materials to prepare, the teacher must be aware of those structures that can be presented easily in a strictly oral fashion and those that are more difficult to present in this way. The teacher may have no difficulty in devising

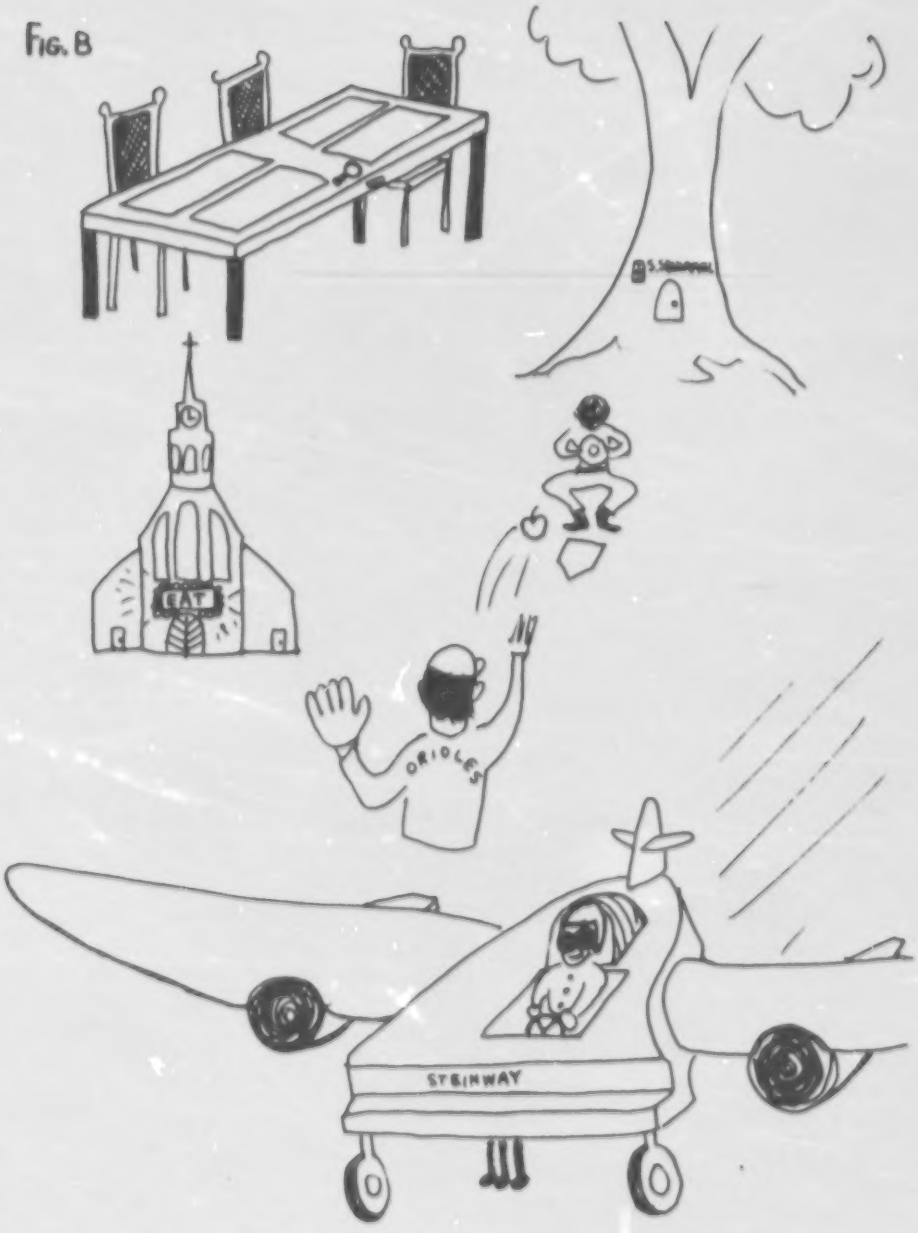
a purely oral context for the verbs *emprunter* and *prêter*, so that a cartoon sequence such as the one suggested above might serve merely as a change of pace. After all, it would be easy enough to compose a series of questions using these structures (*"Est-ce une bonne idée de prêter de l'argent à tout le monde?" "Peut-on emprunter de l'argent à un homme pauvre?"*) in which the context is instantly communicable by speech alone. But a structure like *servir de* plus noun is more difficult to use in a strictly oral fashion (that is, when the reference is entirely conceptual). Pattern drill is, of course, a possibility; but more meaningful, personal questions are harder to imagine. The writer suggests, therefore, that visual materials are best selected not only according to structural principles but also according to the degree of visual appropriateness or necessity. Thus, the structure *servir de* plus infinitive could be practiced with a transparency such as figure B. In every picture on this transparency, an object is being used for something other than its normal purpose. The script might establish the structure by a question such as, *"De quoi sert la porte?"* The examples are admittedly fantastic, which often helps to make the material remain in the student's mind. In any case, the point to be observed is that materials such as these can be used to advantage as a "suppletive function of those elements that escape the symbolism of pure speech."[2]

EFFECTIVE USE OF MATERIALS

Unfortunately, too little attention is usually given to the most effective use of selected or designed materials. Many teachers who use visual aids accord much less time to their preparation (by preparation the writer does not mean the actual drawing or copying of materials but the planning and forethought about what students will actually *do* with them) than they allow for the preparation of oral exercises or drills. Nevertheless, visual aids are precisely what their name implies: they are secondary devices for triggering oral expression (which is exactly the area in which visual materials used in foreign language teaching differ from those used in other disciplines; foreign language visual materials are designed for active participation and reaction, not passive instruction). Thus, some of the same principles might be involved in both visual materials and oral exercises; this writer suggests that the most important principles shared by the two are *economy* and *imagination*. When foreign language teachers devise an oral drill, they try to imagine the various ways of eliciting a given response. For example, the expression *Chantez!* could be generated by a number of techniques: translation (Sing!); English question ("Do you want me to sing?"); French question (*Voulez-vous que je chante?*"); directed dialogue (*"Dites à votre voisin de chanter!"*); transformation drill (change to plural: *"Chante!"*); and so forth. This principle is one used in the composition of many lesson plans; teachers try to get the most mileage possible from the structure(s) involved. The same principle can be effective in using visual materials.

2. Renzo Titone, "The Role of Audio-Visual Aids in Language Teaching," in Robert C. Lugton, ed., *English as a Second Language: Current Issues* (Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, 1970), p. 158.

FIG. 8



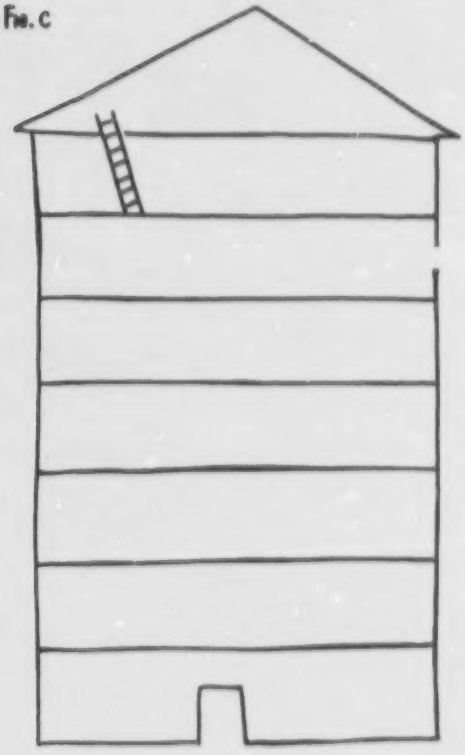
A picture of a man waiting for a bus may be used to practice the verb *attendre*, which—contrary to English usage—does not require the use of a preposition following it. When they present such an image to their classes, many teachers probably would be content simply to show the picture and ask the inevitable question, *"Qu'est-ce qu'il attend?"* (or *"Qu'est-ce qu'il fait?"*). Perhaps this uneconomical use of materials (a one-to-one ratio: one picture for one response) helps to explain why many teachers feel the need to show a great number of pictures in order to evoke a large number of responses. Even an image of a man waiting for a bus can be used more imaginatively and for greater mileage. A very simple way to use the picture for more practice in the structure is to ask the students a series of questions to which the answer is "No" but which contain the same pattern. One might ask for example, *"Attend-il le train?"* Hopefully, a student would reply, *"Non, il n'attend pas le train."* (Students learn quickly not to give the corrected answer at this time.) Many such negative questions could be asked before the final question, *"Alors qu'est-ce qu'il attend?"* This type of questioning is especially effective if the bus itself is eliminated and the picture shows only the type of sign used in France to indicate a bus stop. (Cultural information thus can be introduced or reinforced simultaneously.) Examples could easily be multiplied (a hand holding a wine bottle, filling wine glasses: *"Est-ce qu'il remplit les verres de lait?"*), but the idea is probably clear. It might be added that students seem to enjoy this type of questioning, in which there is a certain sense of dramatic anticipation and dénouement, often with a good deal of fun along the way. (The negative questions can be made quite amusing: *"Est-ce qu'il remplit les verres d'huile?"*) This technique is relatively simple and is but one of countless additional uses of projected visual aids.

Another technique that this writer has found successful is to provide a narrative context. This technique is evident in the sequence involving Pierre and Joe, but it should be pointed out that the pictures themselves need not be so explicitly sequential. The teacher might find more freedom in using a picture such as that in figure C, which can be used effectively for practice with verbs of motion followed by *au* plus ordinal plus *étage*. The narrative technique can be combined here with an important feature of the overhead projector: objects may be placed on the transparency and actually moved. In presenting this material, the writer uses small cut-out figures representing people: two men, one woman.

The woman appears alone at first, enters the house, and proceeds to ascend. (The cardboard figures can be moved easily and accurately with the eraser end of a pencil.) The students narrate her progress, and by the time she has reached the third floor, one of the men is introduced. Each time the woman climbs one floor, the man climbs one too, and they eventually meet in the attic. They embrace and begin to descend when the second man is introduced; the conclusion of the story can be left to the students' imagination. The exercise provides a little fun but at no sacrifice to structural practice; the writer has never since heard one of his students say, *"sur le cinquième étage."*

Another technique is to let the students assume the questioning role. The advantage is that the teacher can get even more active use from his materials and, as he is talking less, he is able to do more listening and correcting. By calling on

Fig. C



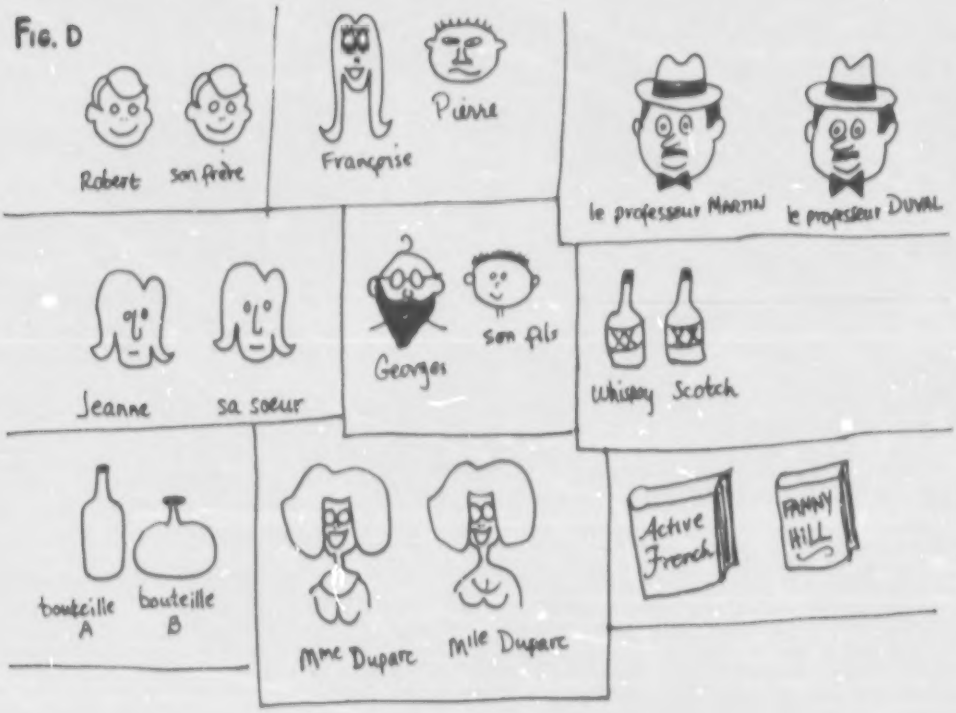
four different students, a teacher can elicit four different sentences from each pair of pictures in figure D.

The students are told that for every pair of pictures they will be expected to provide (1) a question using *ressembler à*: "*Est-ce que Robert ressemble à son frère?*"; (2) an answer using the same structure (*oui, non* plus phrase); (3) a question using *se ressembler*: "*Est-ce que Robert et son frère se ressemblent?*"; and (4) an answer using the same structure. For variety the teacher might not ask for all four sentences from each pair at once; he could alternate pictures and structures. An added advantage to this particular transparency is that it can be used again later to work on the comparative.

Practically all kinds of oral exercises can be geared to a visual stimulus. The writer uses the picture in figure E as the visual reference for a concatenation exercise on the pattern, *servir à* plus infinitive.

The students are informed that they must state what the machine is used for by adding one more of its functions to the sentence produced by the previous student.

First student: *La machine sert à faire la vaisselle.*
Second student: *La machine sert à faire la vaisselle et à apprendre le français.*



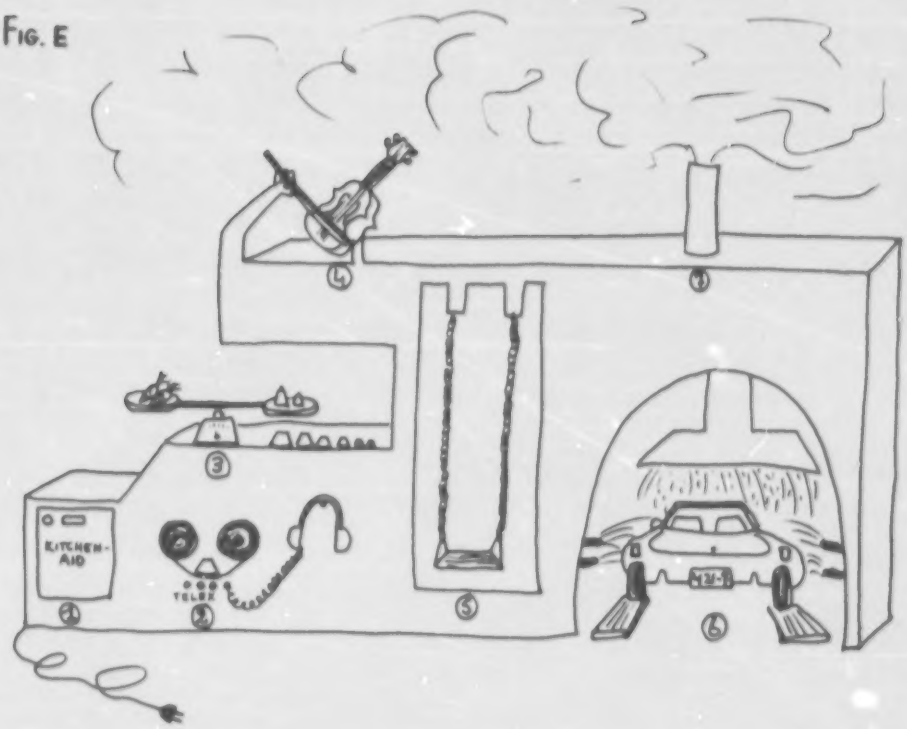
After the exercise has been completed, the projector might be turned off and the students asked to remember as many uses of the machine as they can. The same procedure might also be followed a week later, as review.

Many kinds of visual materials can be used to generate language without cues. The teacher need not restrict himself to stimulus-response type exercises; he can use visuals as a translation device involving two media rather than two languages. A simple drawing of some luggage can be used in this way.

Presenting a cartoon like that in figure F, the teacher can explain that students are to give commands according to silent directions given on the screen. If the teacher points to the upward-directed arrow, the expected imperative would be, "*Montez les bagages!*" Pointing simultaneously to the same arrow and to the X would elicit the sentence, *Ne montez pas les bagages!* The verbs used here are *monter, descendre, sortir*—chosen because they are used transitively; and *apporter, emporter*—chosen to emphasize their use with things (as opposed to *amener, emmener*). *Bagages* was one of many new vocabulary words at the time and was selected for the exercise because it contrasts in number with its English equivalent.

Projected visual aids can also serve as prompters for free expression. Transparencies that were used earlier for structural exercises can be projected weeks later, and the students would be expected to say something meaningful about them

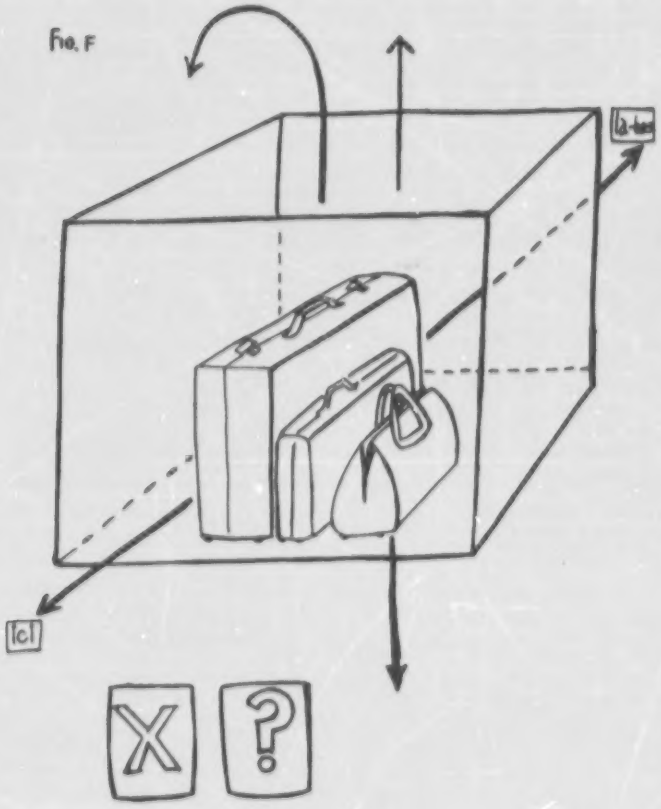
FIG. E



without prompting by the teacher. This technique is especially effective with sequential and narrative materials. At more advanced levels, cartoons can be copied from newspapers, magazines, and collections and be projected; those that depict or imply a sequence of events appear most useful. Students can be asked simply to narrate (or supply a caption for) the cartoon while it is on the screen; or the teacher can show the cartoon briefly, turn the projector off, and ask a student how he would describe the cartoon to someone who had not seen it. A student who had in fact not seen it—because he had been asked to leave the room or not to look during projection—can provide an interesting exercise in student-to-student communication within the bounds determined by the material. Another use of the overhead projector for free expression is to present a transparency that pictures an obsolete or little-known object, especially one that has cultural implications (for example, a curious French cooking utensil); the students must guess what the object is (or was) used for by asking questions of the teacher.

CONCLUSION

In discussing the imaginative use of projected visual aids, the writer has admittedly only scratched the surface, because the imagination by its very nature is



unlimited. In creating good, lively, "high-mileage" materials for the overhead projector, artistic ability may occasionally be an asset. It is certainly not a prerequisite because stick figures can be as effective as any others. Much more important than his competence in draftsmanship is what the teacher decides to *do* with his figures and images. Creative designing and techniques for classroom implementation may come naturally, or they may come only through long hours spent reflecting on possibilities. With the widespread, frequent, and often unnecessary use of visual materials these days, teachers run the risk of turning their students off unless they stop to ask themselves why they are using visual aids and how they are using them. Scores of materials whose sole *raison d'être* is that they are visual could profitably, albeit not easily, be replaced by fewer, but well-prepared, imaginative visuals.

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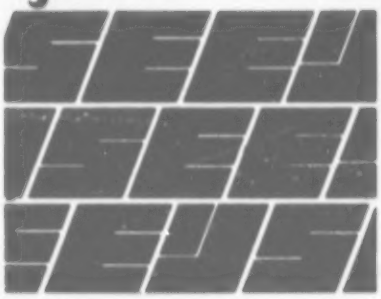

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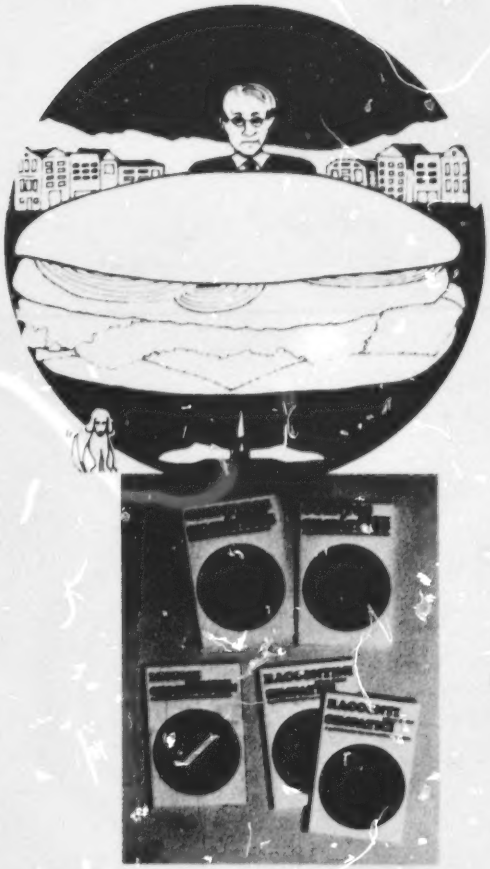

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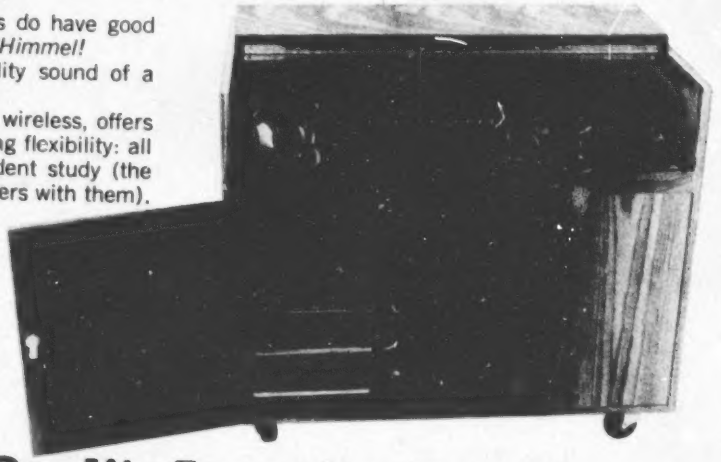

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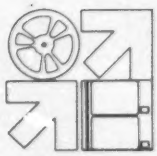

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